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THE NEW
CHINA REVIEW

VOL. III. DECEMBER, 1921. No. 6.

KWAN-TSZ

BY

PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER

(*Continued from page 11*)

IV. THE THEORY OF WAR

One of Kwan-tsz's most striking theories is that of war, and the Japanese commentator-editors justly point out that the military work known as *Sun-tsz* (recently translated by Dr. Lionel Giles with a preface by Lord Roberts) largely owes its inspiration to Kwan-tsz, who antedated him as he also antedated Confucius by 150 years: Sun-tsz, indeed, was a native of Kwan-tsz's own vassal state, though he did most of his fighting as a mercenary abroad. The government of a state, then, should have command of effective force if needful, but should act with benevolence otherwise: no individual can be indifferent to his country's danger. Stress is laid upon the importance of protecting cultivators, whose good or weal must always be the best asset against external enemies: unless a fair share of their own produce be left to the cultivators, they will not avail much against hostile intrusion. It is the cultivator who produces grain, grain that sustains the men, the men who form the troops, the troops that hold the citadels, and the citadels that maintain the State fabric. A minister of state, if at the same time a military man, must not be too disposed either to over-taxation or to leaving lands untilled; on the other hand, pacifists at any price are shameless creatures.

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First, said Kwan-tsz to the Duke, place in order your own domain before you proceed to raise fighting armies to influence the Empire : one of the sub-chapters is entitled "the seven ways of doing," and then the philosopher goes on to urge every man to exert himself for his own state, and to show the advantages to be gained for it by pre-eminence and conquest. There should always be in readiness a store of well-tempered arms, and effort should be made to have ready for action the very best of commanders ; but at the same time courtesy and justice (*li-i*) are indispensable in order to conquer men's hearts as well as their persons. An accumulation of treasure is the first essential in military affairs. Plans should be matured before the expedition sets out ; get the best and surest intelligence ; have superiority both in numbers and *moral*, which all means in effect that in this way you have, comparatively, a mere rabble to face you. The way to advance victoriously is to have your army and stores all in perfect order. Rewards should be bestowed with scrupulous fairness. Plans of the ground should be carefully studied, and get the best sub-officers you can : in this way you need not be afraid of advancing too far or too quickly ; lightning attacks may be safely risked ; and you can protect your hearths and homes with unity of spirit. Pounce suddenly on the enemy ; devastate his land ; establish spies all over the place ; maintain discipline ; and, above all, get rid of irresponsible chatterers. In this way you will have no need of temporary alliances and you govern a united state of your own. But your discipline must be fair as well as strict, or else there will be trouble, for you cannot run up against universal indignation : hence you must be cautious in giving offence, and careful to reward merit. Estimate both your man and your object. Spend your resources liberally, and let the people have full supplies : the lazy should be forced, however, to work. There can be no victory for the troops if the people are so short of grain that they have to borrow parcels from each other ; hence you must allow for scant years in calculating for army requirements. You must remember, too, that impulsiveness is not necessarily bravery.

People will go through fire and water for good rulers, and thus all, soldiers and people alike, will keep their heads securely on their shoulders in times of peace. But remember there is nothing that impoverishes the people and dissipates wealth so quickly as war ; nothing so dangerous to the state and so saddening to the ruler of it. These four evils are plain to all, and yet wars have continually gone on, and will always go on. Consider, for instance, a daily expenditure of one thousand (pounds of) gold for an army of 100,000 men, with no guarantee for victory at that,

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and even then at the cost of a great loss of life. Arms then are an evil, but are a necessity for the maintenance of order, for assisting the King above us all, and for establishing a Protectorate (*pa*) below. But the present generation of men have lost the true principles which ought to govern such matters: there are wasteful and impoverishing wars about nothing, always with uncertainty of success, which in any case is disproportionate to the enormous expenditure; whilst the state is ruined, even though the accession of territory in dispute be really secured. A Protector may be defined as the man who clearly establishes his superiority in military strategy (a commentator at this point explains that his *de facto* power must not be confused with the *de jure* power of the King or Emperor). Kwan-tsz here alludes to an older work on tactics, which like several other extinct "books" mentioned in the course of his periodical "sermons" to the Duke, have perished milleniums ago: however, another Chinese commentator here remarks that since the days of General Wu K'i (B.C.400, another distinguished fighter who gave his services to foreign states) there has been no such thorough discussion on military power as is here given, and in any case Kwan-tsz's treatise is superior to those of Sun* and Wu. To return now to the actual text of Kwan-tsz: he says, citing the "old book" above referred to,—and after repeating that stores must be ample, weapons of the best quality, rewards and punishments clear,—that there are definite ways (1) of avoiding risks of scarcity when war is declared, (2) of securing victory when the march has commenced, (3) of minimising the loss of life during this victorious process, and (4) of obtaining accessions of territory without injuring your own state prospects; and he proceeds to show how wise economy, careful strategy, effective weapons, in each case following the lines of least popular resistance will secure these objects. In the field advance is regulated by the drum, halt or retirement by the gong, and choice of attacking weapons by flag-waving: these are called the 三官 or three "senses"; the five instructions" on the other hand regulate the colour of the flags, the movements of the body, sit or rise, advance or retire, the use of long or short weapons, always bearing in mind the proper distribution of rewards and punishments. Then the nine "aspects" must be considered, whether it is night or day, whether you have to deal with water, forest, hill, marsh, rolling ground, mountain, or supply-communications, in each case the main object being to confound the enemy. In some way not quite apparent, the above considerations are

* Sun's was translated by Dr. Lionel Giles a few years ago.

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made to conform to the philosophical principles of *tao* (the right way) and *têh* (the result of *tao*) in the general sense of the "will to conquer" ; but even if so, then Kwan-tsz distinctly objects tc anything in the shape of trickery or treachery when the enemy is once defeated, though in strategy and tactics he allows himself a free hand. There is a great deal more in this style, to a quite complete comprehension of which some military knowledge and much wrestling with philosophy is necessary. It is interesting, however, to read of *tao* and *têh* nearly two centuries before Lao-tsz elaborated his *Tao-têh* Classic. In the next chapter, however, Kwan-tsz declares that it was not part of the *tao* of the good old ancient Kings to strive for military predominance. Then follows a discussion between Kwan-tsz and the Duke which has a decidedly Machiavellian, not to say Prussian flavour about it. It is explained how under certain circumstances it pays well politically to devote two-thirds of the revenues to diplomatic activity with a view to conquest in the limited sense above explained ; in order to obtain troops, the criminal classes might be reprieved, and a system of fines in weapons be instituted, but before marching abroad into other territories the chief aim should be to secure popularity at home, and the petty states around should be ingratiated with small cessions of territory. Military forces should be trained in secret, so as to prevent other powerful vassal states from making similar preparations; moreover the internal administration should be based upon army principles. There should be three army corps raised in this way, styled respectively the Duke's corps, the Country's or Heir's corps, and the Commander-in-Chief's (*Kao-tsz*)* corps, all based upon civil subdivisions, beginning with five families, then 50, 200, 2,000 and up to 6,000. There should be spring and autumn hunting expeditions, accustoming the men to outdoor exercise ; and there should be no unnecessary shifting of commands, so that all, civil and military, will feel a sense of mutual protection. In this way an army of 30,000 men could easily overrun the Empire (*t'ien-hia*) and fix the royal house of Chou so solidly that none of the great vassals (each one surrounded by petty sub-lieges) could set up pretentions of independence. At the new year the heads of each civil hamlet, parish, hundred, county, and so on, should present themselves at the (duke's) court for cross-examination as to the condition of the territory under their civil rule, and then fines of weapons, shields and other war equipments should be imposed upon the

*The frequence of these terms in history leaves it doubtful whether *Kwoh* and *Kao* were not rather distinguished families holding hereditary military commands.

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lax. Sea-coast barbarian should be utilised against sea-coast barbarian when occasion requires, and high diplomacy in general should be employed according to our ancient King's methods. But a general must always have good charts or maps showing the available roads and the places liable to flood in order that there may be no obstacle to his march, and that supplies may be duly brought in : a competent staff is needed, and a general should not hesitate to expend even his private fortune when occasion requires; prince, statesman, and general should all collaborate, but it is the military power that really rules the state : you demonstrate, you deploy, you fight ; one day's fight may consume a whole year's savings, the cost of one battle whole generations of labour: hence the need of forming clear plans before starting out, and hence the reason why using inferior weapons practically means no weapons at all, whilst again short-reaching arms pitted against long-reaching arms simply means slaughter, and poorly made arms practically means handing over the troops to the enemy ; and so onwards ; poor troops means handing over the generals to the enemy ; poor generals means handing over the prince to the enemy, and an ineffectual prince means handing over the State to the enemy. Hence rank, honour, and pay must not be administered with a sparing hand to the deserving. Movements must be secret, sudden, circumspect. The great thing is to take the enemy by surprise and not to be surprised oneself ; for instance if crows are observed perching on tents, itis evident that the enemy has really abandoned them. In a word, the true policy of good ministers is to enrich the state and strengthen the army : successful arms follow suitable policy as inevitably as good results follow correct behaviour. Smash the enemy's preparations ; scatter his stores ; stop his food ; he thus becomes defenceless ; but when conquered, treat him courteously and generously. Offer him the highest prices for real talent, and pay even triple ordinary rates for his labour. Bribe spies to betray his secrets ; carefully scrutinise his charts and documents : tactics consist in artful trickery.

It is incidentally mentioned that a rule forbade any youth under eight years of age from even entering a military camp, but it is recorded of the heir's corps or gentlemen's corps that they once knocked out their deciduous teeth in order to get in with result that a battle was won; and there are a few more anecdotes which the commentators suspect of later interpolation after the Yangtze valley states had become rivals of true Old China. But more savouring of true Kwan-tsz are the military considerations indispensable in choosing a site for new capitals or central cities.

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It is as necessary to keep up horses though they may not be always running, just as it is needful to keep up an army though it may not always be fighting,* and here it may be observed that no mention is yet made of *riding* horses ; their function in battle was to draw chariots in which the man-of-arms stood, assisted by his squire and his driver † A "10,000 chariot" state meant an army of 720,000 men, for 72 foot soldiers (later 50) were supposed to be allowed to each war chariot of four horses.

A ruler should not listen to proposals for disarmament or "general love all round ;" it is true that *I* can refrain from attack, but there is no certainty that others will not attack *me*, in which case my hastily collected levies will be no match for their disciplined troops. It is best to follow natural laws, civil and military dispositions being complementary to each other, just as heat and cold alternate in nature, and military prestige thus saves the necessity of reiterating law and command, which may be disposed, as it were, in three forms, instruments, or phases ; to wit, the utterance of command, the ax, and the reward. If a man benefit by breaking the law, then one of these three must be ineffective, for good soldiers are produced in vain if the prince himself is bad. A good prince tests his military for bravery or cowardice just as he tests his civilians for capability or incompetence ; on the other hand a bad prince too often appoints on recommendation without any test. It is good service rendered that makes the prince safe and people prosperous, and on the military side a general should succeed in doing this good service. Bad economy is as bad as civil war ; on the other hand a state that wars for war's sake wastes its revenues and breeds up a proletariat. It is highly desirable that free burials should be accorded to those parents who have lost their sons in war, and the families of those killed and wounded should receive rewards. The joy of battle lies, however, in a full belly and the prospect of reward, not in any desperate desire to avenge parents ; as at Court so in the field, the prospect of reward is the main incentive after all : thus Kwan-tsz. There is an anecdote of Kwan-tsz (at the outset of his master's conquests) having advised the grant of a whole year's revenue (42,000 pounds of gold, over £2,000,000) to the army, which was accordingly summoned to headquarters in order to receive the necessary stimulation on the above principles in advance : the whole sum was distributed in one morning, and Kwan-tsz said to the somewhat sceptical Duke :—"Do not fear, my liege, the money is well

* There is a modern Chinese proverb to this effect.

† The similarity of these chariots to the Babylonian fighting cars is striking.

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invested ; when we have conquered the enemies' countries we shall recover all this gold and more of it ; the great thing is to secure eagerness to serve and a desire for fame at the outset."

Another "Prussian" scheme of Kwan-tsz was to buy up at high prices all the warlike arms of a state he wished to crush, re-selling them cheap to neighbouring semi-Tartar states : other powerful vassals, hearing of this, would compete : result, the ill-fated state abandons its cultivation of grain with a view to making money by growing wood for arms. Then Kwan-tsz so manipulates the rice-market that every state around eagerly sends its grain to him ; but he then suddenly closes the frontier, and the victim, possessing neither arms nor grain, has thus to surrender unconditionally. Apparently it is this bane of trickery in Kwan-tsz's policy that has decided the successive rulers of China to give him educationally a wide berth.

V. Opinions of Kwan-Tsz's Later Preface-Writers

Naturally the first preface in a Japanese edition is by a Japanese, who gives four more prefaces by Chinese scholars of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), and who probably himself published his edition 200 or 300 years ago. He considers Kwan-tsz superior as a political philosopher to Mencius (4th cent. B. C.) and as a military writer to Sun-tsz* 孫子 (6th cent. B.C.) ; moreover his own immense services to China consist in his having at least for a time resuscitated the fortunes or at all events the moral principles of the decadent Chou dynasty, and (however imperfectly this moral recension was done so far as the Chinese vassal kingdoms were concerned) in his having by his military reforms for ever kept off the overwhelming of China by the two main groups of Tartars. † Even in Kwan-tsz's and Confucius' time, as Confucius himself has left on record, the last archives of the two preceding dynasties (2200 to 1100 B.C.) had disappeared, and if the Tartars had once broken in we should now have had no archives subsequent to 1100 B.C , and thus no history of China at all. Kwan-tsz, in short, saved civilization and left us a vivid summary of Chinese antiquity ; Mencius was wrong, therefore, to sneer at him (says the Japanese editor) ; moreover Confucius' own teachings and the success of his administration in his own small native state (immediately south of Kwan-tsz's more considerable state) owe much to Kwan-tsz (of whom Confucius prudently speaks with respect and toleration). Later rulers, con-

* Not to be confused with Sün-tsz (4th cent. B. C.)

† Then, as now, what may be roughly described as Turks and Tunguses

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sciously or unconsciously, similarly owe much to Kwan-tsz. Lao-tsz's book of 5,000 words on *Tao* largely paraphrases Kwan-tsz, and Sun-tsz's thirteen military chapters copy his ideas : the same may be said of the *sing-li* 性理 philosophers in later times (*i.e.* the Chu-tsz group of Confucian renaissance celebrity, 12th cent. A.D.)

The first Chinese preface says that Chou Kung (B.C. 1100, one of the effective founders of the Chou dynasty and also of Confucius' state), Kwan-tsz, and Confucius were all three more successful in their creative work than the more ambitious Mencius : what a pity, says he, there was no second Kwan-tsz in 1100 A.D. to save the Sung dynasty (Marco Polo's "Manzi") from the successive inroads of Tartar rulers (Cathayans, Early Manchus, Mongols).

The second Chinese preface says that Kwan-tsz gave full stomachs and warm clothing precedence over rites and ranks. He was superior to Sün-tsz* 荀子 (Mencius' chief adversary, who it is usually said maintained that human nature was evil), or Yang-tsz (a later compromise between Mencius and Sün-tsz), or to the earliest philosophers of the so-called Taoist school ; not to mention the later ones such as Chwang-tsz, Lü Puh-wei 呂不韋, etc. In a word, Kwan-tsz, opines he, is the best of all the school-men.

The next preface in order says that Kwan-tsz's general plan is half based on the "Ceremonial Books" or principles of administration and life generally introduced by the Chou dynasty in 1100 B.C., except that he modifies from top to bottom the practical application thereof.

The last Chinese preface observes that there were originally 389 sections, but the Han dynasty's literary scion (Liu Hiang, 1st cent. B.C.), who busied himself in recovering the remains of the "destroyed literature," reconstituted these 389 into 86, of which 10 are now hopelessly lost. He adds that the best reformer of Chou Kung's original schemes† was undoubtedly Kwan-tsz. Amongst other things he established a regular currency in gold and cloths, giving his attention in addition to the fisheries, salt, needles, and general iron implement industries. His guiding principle was "be strong for war, if needful ; otherwise be benevolent" ; this was not exactly Chou Kung's principle, nor will Su Tung-po (the great poet-statesman of 1100 A.D.) allow that

* Not to be confused with Sun-tsz the military strategist.

† The records of previous dynasties having been lost, there is nothing to show how Chou Kung's ancestors came to develop the old Chinese religious statecraft into organized formalism.

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it was inferior to the original, whose foundations were admittedly built upon by Kwan-tsz : the benevolence underlying the latter's political philosophy (says this critic) contrasts favourably with the harshness of Han Fei (3rd cent. B.C.), adviser of the monarch * who ultimately destroyed literature.

Each of the 76 now surviving chapters of the book called *Kwan-tsz* is separately commented on almost sentence by sentence by this or that modern Chinese critic ; but, taken as a body, they have little to add beyond the considerations we have already submitted : the general judgement seems to be that, however superior in abstract virtue Confucius may have been, he lacked the creative, active, administrative force of Kwan-tsz.

* Han Fei had studied under Sün-tsz, who also was adviser to the destroyer's great-grandfather.

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ON MEXICAN DOLLARS

BY

A. M. TRACEY WOODWARD, F.R.G.S., F.R.N.S.

It is seldom that foreign residents in China, much less the Chinese, stop to reflect upon the influence which that very convenient commodity, the Mexican Dollar, has had upon the truly remarkable development of Shanghai, not to mention China Fewer still are those who have tarried somewhat in their chase after it to question its origin, study its peculiarities and eventually form a specialized collection of those coins.

The common term, Mexican Dollar, should not be understood as meaning only that one coin with a blaze of sun on its reverse, that the present China residents are accustomed to, but also its predecessor, popularly known in earlier days and usually described by writers on finance and economics, as the Carolus, or 'Pillar' dollar, so named from the Pillars of Hercules in its design. It does not enter into the realm of numismatics to encroach upon the very able notes of Morse, Wagel, Spalding and other writers who have devoted much attention to both the Carolus and Eagle dollars from economic and financial standpoints. It suffices to mention that the Carolus dollar, very often denoted the Spanish dollar, was not really produced in Spain, but in her most wealthy then existing colony of Mexico, a fact which I do not remember to have read in any treatise on Chinese currency and finances, and which induces me to claim the title to this article as strictly correct. Most of the silver the world produced at the close of the eighteenth century came from the Mexican mines, and the mint which then existed in the City of Mexico was extensively availed of to convert into coin shape that mass of silver. Certainly, much of it was exported to Spain, but much more to India and the Philippines, whence the natural channels of commerce brought the flow of the coin on to China. For many years at the close of the eighteenth, and somewhat into the nineteenth century, the Carolus dollar was the only foreign coin which the Chinese people accepted ; in some provinces the tenacity of the people in favour of the coin was more marked than in other localities, and a writer during August 1916 in the *North-China Herald* mentioned that in certain parts of Anhui province the coin was then still to be seen, and was even treasured ; nevertheless, it may well

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to-day be classed as *passé*. As with the Eagle dollar, there does not seem to have been any regularity in its size, but actual measurements of a goodly number of pieces indicate that 38.75 mm. is a fair average ; the weight, ascertained by scaling fifty pieces, being 26.537 grammes average. On the obverse, it bears on a bare field the Spanish kings' bust, the head being wreathed with laurel ; around : CAROLUS. III. DEI. GRATIA. ; the year is placed underneath the bust. On the reverse is found an escutcheon of the arms of Castille and Leon with three fleurs-de-lys at the heart point, the whole surmounted by a Royal crown ; a Pillar of Hercules at the dexter and sinister, united by a scroll bearing the inscription PLUS ULTRA ; the inscription around this whole reads : HISPAN. ET IND. REX. M. 8 R.F.M. Usual milling with reeding -0-0-0-0-. A curious peculiarity of the 1772 piece is noticeable in the mint mark, which is inverted, thus giving a strange effect to the inscription which reads : HISPAN. ET IND. REX. M. 8 R. .M F.

To the Carolus dollar there appeared in China, *circa* 1854 a formidable rival in the Eagle or commonly known Mexican dollar, although its common description is really a paradox, since both coins were from the same origin. In losing her rich colony by its obtaining its independence, Spain lost her wealthy source of the white metal, and the issue of the Eagle dollar caused the discontinuance of production of the Carolus coins ; it was then only a matter of time before the effective ousting of the latter by the former in China took place. Nevertheless, the Eagle dollar has had its tribulations, but it eventually succeeded in defeating all attempts of strong competitors such as the Peruvian, Chilian, American Trade dollars and Japanese Yen, ever retaining its sway as the most highly appreciated currency in China. Even Chinese Dragon dollars have failed to accomplish their mission of driving the foreign intruder from the native money market, and, although the times seem propitious to effect the radical change, it still retains its prestige and privileged position, maintaining its hold upon the confidence of the Chinese people, notwithstanding the slow but steady progress of the Yüan Shih-k'ai dollar.

From a numismatic as well as historical aspect, as viewed by the China resident, the Mexican dollar is quite an interesting coin, especially if we peer into the future and consider that time and circumstances may so alter conditions that the coming generations may have to ask, what was the Mexican dollar ? One authority gives its weight as 417.79 grains, or 27.07 grammes, 97.27 per cent. being of pure silver ; I have before me a piece

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weighing 27.01 grammes which measures 40mm. in diameter, as well as another weighing 27.08 grammes and measuring only 37.5mm. ; but this abnormality in size is not frequent, although a standard does not seem to have been adopted. The term 'dollar' by which it is generally known, is a misnomer ; strictly speaking it is an eight Reales piece, and yet was sometimes called "un duro" in common Spanish parlance. It was first coined in 1824 during the first Mexican Republic, but when Maximilian ruled the country under an imperial banner from 1864 to 1867, he continued to employ the original legend of REPUBLICA MEXICANA during the years of 1865 and 1866, but only small quantities were issued, and pieces bearing such year dates are comparatively rare. After the restoration of the Republic, especially in 1868, larger quantities were minted until 1897, after which year, the legend on the reverse heretofore reading "✱ 8 R.M̊. 1897. A.M. 10 D^{s} 20 G^{s}." was altered into "✱ UN PESO. M^{o} 1898. A.M. 902.7." The two letters immediately following the year date, were the initials of the governor of that mint at the time, and occasionally two initials appeared during the same year, due to a change of governors.

The first mint was established in the City of Mexico in 1535. This was the only one until the reign of Ferdinand VII (1808-21), when mints were founded at Chihuahua, Durango, Guanaxuato, San Louis Potosi and Zacatecas. Other mints were established later. The various mints and their marks are :—

Alamos	mark	A	or	A^{a}
Chihuahua	,,	C, C^{a}	,,	C^{h}
Culiacan	,,	C	,,	C^{N}
Durango	,,	D	,,	D^{o}
Guadalaxara	,,	G^{A}		
Guanaxuato	,,	G^{P}, ⓖ	,,	G^{o}
Guadeloupe y Calvo	,,	G. C.		
Hermosillo	,,	H^{o}	,,	H̊
City of Mexico	,,	M, M^{o}	,,	M̊
Oaxaca	,,	O^{a}		
San Louis Potosi	,,	P^{I}	,,	S.L.P.
Zacatecas	,,	Z	,,	Z^{s}

Although the Guadeloupe y Calvo and Oaxaca mints are included in this list, they did not produce China type silver dollars, but confined their operations to other coins of the realm.

As a matter of record, it may be observed that the obverse represents an eagle standing on a cactus, with outstretched wings, holding a snake in its beak and right claws ; below, a bough of oak

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at the dexter, and a sprig of laurel at the sinister; above, the legend REPUBLICA MEXICANA. The reverse consists of the Cap of Liberty with 'LIBERTAD' across it encircled by thirty-two rays; below, the value, mint mark and year date as above described.

The following tables of year dates and mint marks seen by me may call forth additional particulars from numismatists. There is certainly no known reason why all the mints should not have turned out the coin during each year: —

TABLE FOR CAROLUS DOLLARS

Year	*Reign*	*Mintmark*	*Year*	*Reign*	*Mintmark*
1772	Carolus III	M̊.F.M.	1794	Carolus IIII	M̊.F.M.
1773	do.	do.	1794	do.	M̈.I.J.
1774	do.	do.	1795	do.	M̊.F.M.
1775	do.	do.	1796	do.	do.
1776	do.	do.	1797	do.	do.
1777	do.	do.	1798	do.	do.
1777	do.	M̊.F.F.	1799	do.	do.
1778	do.	do.	1799	do.	SP.P.P.
1779	do.	do.	1800	do.	M̊.F.M.
1780	do.	do.	1801	do.	do.
1781	do.	do.	1802	do.	M̊.F.T.
1782	do.	do.	1803	do.	do.
1783	do.	do.	1804	do.	M̊.T.H.
1784	do.	do.	1805	do.	do.
1784	do.	M̊.F.M.	1805	do.	M̈.J.P.
1785	do.	do.	1806	do.	do.
1786	do.	do.	1806	do.	M̊.T.H.
1787	do.	do.	1807	do.	do.
1788	do.	do.	1808	do.	do.
1789	Carolus IV	do.	1809	Ferdin. VII	do.
1790	Carolus IIII	do.	1810	do.	M̊.H.I.
1791	do.	do.	1811	do.	do.
1792	do.	do.	1840 (?)	Carolus IIII	M̊.F.M.
1793	do.	do.			

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Table for Eagle Dollars

Year	Value	Alamos	Chihuahua	Culiacan	Durango	Guadalaxara	Guanaxuato	Hermosillo	Mexico	San Louis Potosi	Zacatecas
1828	8 R.										Z^{s} A.O.
1829	,,						G.M.J.				
1830	,,						G.M J.				
1833	,,						G.M.J.				
1839	,,								M.M.L.		
1841	,,										Z^{s} O.M.
1850	,,						G.P.F.				
1851	,,								M.G.C.		
1854	,,						G.P.F.			P^{l} M.C.	
1855	,,						G.P.F.		M.G.F.		
1857	,,						G.P.F.		M.G.F.		Z^{s} M.O.
1858	,,						G.P.F.		M.F.H.		Z^{s} M.O.
1859	,,		C.C.E.				G.P.F.		M.F.H.		Z^{s} M.O.
1860	,,						G.P.F.		M.T.H.		Z^{s} M.O.
1860	,,										Z^{s} V.L.
1861	,,						G.P.F.				Z^{s} V.L.

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TABLE FOR EAGLE DOLLARS.—*Continued*

YEAR \ MINT / VALUE		Alamos	Chihuahua	Culiacan	Durango	Guadalaxara	Guanaxuato	Hermosillo	Mexico	San Louis Potosi	Zacatecas
1862	8 R.						G.Y.F.		M.C.H.		Z^{s} V.L.
1862	,,						G.Y.E.				
1863	,,						G.Y.F.		M.T.H.		Z^{s} V.L.
1863	,,								M.C.H.		Z^{s} M.O.
1864	,,										Z^{s} M.O.
1867	,,								M.C.H.	P^{i} P.S.	
1868	,,	A.D.L.	C.C.E.				G.Y.F.		M.C.H.	P^{i} P.S.	Z^{s} J.S.
1868	,,								M.P.H.		
1869	,,		C^{a} M.M.					H.P.R.	M.C.H.	P^{i} P.S.	Z^{s} Y.H.
1870	,,	A.D.L.	C.C.E.			G^{a} I.C.	G.F.R.	H.P.R.			
1871	,,	A.D.L.	C^{a} M.M.					H.P.R.			
1872	,,	A.A.M.						H.P.R.			
1873	,,	A.A.M.			D^{o} C.M.		G^{o} F.R.	H.P.R.	M.M.H.	P^{i} M.H.	Z^{s} Y.H.
1874	,,						G^{o} F.R.		M.M.H.	P^{i} M.H.	Z^{s} Y.H.
1874	,,								M.B.H.		Z^{s} J.A.
1875	,,	A.D.L.	C^{a} M.M.		D^{o} C.M.		G^{o} F.R.		M.B.H.	P^{i} M.H.	Z^{s} J.A.

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TABLE FOR EAGLE DOLLARS.—*Continued*

YEAR \ MINT / VALUE		Alamos	Chihuahua	Culiacan	Durango	Guadalaxara	Guanaxuato	Hermosillo	Mexico	San Louis Potosi	Zacatecas
1876	8 R.	A^{S} D.L.		C^{N} G.P.	D^{O} C.M.	G^{A} I.C.	G^{O} F.R.		M.B.H.	P^{I} M.H.	Z^{S} J.A.
1876	,,			C^{N} C.G.							Z^{S} J.S.
1877	,,	A^{S} D.L.			D^{O} C.P.	G^{A} J.A.	G^{O} F.R.		M.M.H.		Z^{S} J.S.
1878	,,			C^{N} J.D.	D^{O} P.E.		G^{O} F.R.	H.J.A.	M.M.H.	P^{I} M.H.	Z^{S} J.S.
1878	,,				D^{O} T.B.						
1879	,,				D^{O} T.B.	G^{A} J.A.	G^{O} S.M.		M.M.H.	P^{I} M.H.	Z^{S} J.S.
1879	,,									P^{I} B.E.	
1880	,,	A^{S} M.L.	C^{A} M.M.	C^{N} J.D.	D^{O} J.P.	G^{A} J.A.	G^{O} S.B.		M.M.H.	P^{I} M.H.	Z^{S} J.S.
1881	,,		C^{A} M.G.	C.J.D.	D^{O} J.P.	G^{A} F.S.	G^{O} S.B.	H.J.A.	M.M.H.	P^{I} M.H.	Z^{S} J.S.
1882	,,	A^{S} M.L.	C^{A} M.G.	C^{N} A.M.	D^{O} J.P.	G^{A} F.S.	G^{O} S.B.		M.M.H.	P^{I} M.H.	Z^{S} J.S.
1882	,,				D^{O} M.C.						
1883	,,				D^{O} M.C.	G^{A} T.B.		H^{O} F.M.	M.M.H.	P^{I} M.H.	Z^{S} J.S.
1884	,,	A^{S} M.L.	C^{A} M.M.		D^{O} M.C.		G^{O} B.R.		M.M.H.	P^{I} M.H.	Z^{S} J.S.
1884	,,						G^{O} R.R.				
1885	,,	A^{S} M.L.	C^{A} M.M.	G^{N} A.M.	D^{O} M.C.	G^{A} A.H.	G^{O} R.R.	H^{O} F.M.	M.M.H.	P^{I} M.H.	Z^{S} J.S.
1886	,,	A^{S} M.L.	C^{A} M.M.	C^{N} A.M.	D^{O} M.C.	G^{A} J.S.	G^{O} R.R.		M.M.H.	P^{I} M.R.	Z^{S} J.S.

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TABLE FOR EAGLE DOLLARS.—*Continued.*

YEAR / VALUE / MINT	Alamos	Chihuahua	Culiacan	Durango	Guadalaxara	Guanaxuato	Hermosillo	Mexico	San Louis Potosi	Zacatecas
1886 8 R.									P^{I}. L.C.	Z^{S}. F.Z.
1887 ,,	A^{S}. M.L.	C^{A}. M.M.		D^{O}. M.C.	G^{A}. J.S.	G^{O}. R.R		M.M.H.	P^{I}. M.R.	Z^{S}. F.Z.
1888 ,,		C^{A}. M.M.	C^{N}. A.M.	D^{O}. M.C.	G^{A}. J.S.	G^{O}. R.R.		M.M.H.	P^{I}. M.R.	Z^{S}. F.Z.
1889 ,,		C^{A}. M.M.	C^{N}. A.M.	D^{O}. M.C.	G^{A}. J.S.	G^{O}. R.R.		M.M.H.	P^{I}. M.R.	Z^{S}. F.Z.
1890 ,,	A^{S}. M.L.	C^{A}. M.M.	C^{N}. A.M.	D^{O}. M.C.	G^{A}. J.S.	G^{O}. R.R.	H^{O}. F.G.	M.M.H.	P^{I}. M.R.	Z^{S}. F.Z.
1890 ,,								M.A.M.		
1891 ,,	A^{S}. M.L.	C^{A}. M.M.			G^{A}. J.S.	G^{O}. R.S.		M.A.M.	P^{I}. M.R.	Z^{S}. F.Z.
1892 ,,		C^{A}. M.M.	C^{N}. A.M.	D^{O}. J.P.	G^{A}. J.S.	G^{O}. R.S.	H^{O}. F.G.	M.A.M.	P^{I}. M.R.	Z^{S}. F.Z.
1893 ,,	A^{S}. M.L.	C^{A}. M.M.	C^{N}. A.M.	D^{O}. N.D.	G^{A}. J.S.	G^{O}. R.S.	H^{O}. F.G.	M.A.M.		Z^{S}. F.Z.
1894 ,,	A^{S}. M.L.	C^{A}. M.M.	C^{N}. A.M.	D^{O}. N.D.	G^{A}. J.S.	G^{O}. R.S.	H^{O}. F.G.	M.A.M.		Z^{S}. F.Z.
1895 ,,	A^{S}. M.L.	C^{A}. M.M.	C^{N}. A.M.	D^{O}. N.D.	G^{A}. J.S.	G^{O}. R.S.	H^{O}. F.G.	M.A.M.		Z^{S}. F.Z.
1895 ,,								M.A.B.		
1896 ,,			C^{N}. A.M.			G^{O}. R.S.		M.A.B.		Z^{S}. F.Z.
1896 ,,								M.A.M.		
1897 ,,			C^{N}. A.M.			G^{O}. R.S.		M.A.M.		Z^{S}. F.Z.
1898 UN PESO						G^{O}. R.S.		M.A.M.		

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TABLE FOR EAGLE DOLLARS.—*Continued*

YEAR	VALUE / MINT	Alamos	Chihuahua	Culiacan	Durango	Guadalaxara	Guanaxuato	Hermosillo	Mexico	San Louis Potosi	Zacatecas
1899	UN PESO								Mo A.M.		
1900	,,								Mo A.M.		Zs F.Z.
1901	,,			CN J.Q.					Mo A.M.		
1902	,,			CN J.Q.					Mo A.M.		
1903	,,			CN F.V.					Mo A.M.		
1904	,,								Mo A.M.		

[In the above tables the reader must make some allowance for the difficulty of getting the more peculiar types correctly cut. For example, in the Guanaxuato column the specially cut type is meant for an ordinary G with a small circle enclosed in it. *Editor.*]

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THE CHARACTER 汐 *HSI*.

BY

PROFESSOR H. A. GILES, LL.D.

This character stands in my Dictionary, No. 4111, defined by "Night tides, as opposed to 潮 519," which means morning tides. For the former, Mr. A. C. Moule has recently suggested "ebb tides," with the further opinion that 汐 is not necessarily a "suggestive compound," but that the 夕 may be a phonetic used to indicate merely the sound, *hsi*, of a word which was already in vogue, meaning "ebb tide," and was chosen as a contrast with 潮 *chao* morning which appears in No. 519 above. I have come to the conclusion that "ebb tide" should be added as a second but later definition of 汐, which I consider to have been undoubtedly constructed as a suggestive compound, indicating by its parts "the evening water, or tide." It has further occurred to me that my notes, made while looking into the question, may be of interest to others who, from the vantage-ground of China, may be able to supply additions to, or corrections of, the various statements which follow.

Dr. Williams in his Dictionary, 1874, has

汐. The evening tide ; night tide.

潮汐逐波浪 the ebb and flood beat off the waves (altered by me to "morning and night the tides roll up in waves." The ebb could scarcely be a subject to 逐).

De Guignes in his Dictionary, 1853, has Flux maris vespertinus.

W. H. Medhurst in his Dictionary, 1842, has

The name of a stream ; the evening tide, ebb tide.

Gonçalves in his Dictionary, 1833, has

Mare da noite.

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Dr. Morrison in his Dictionary, 1818, has

> The tide rising in the evening; the evening tide, in contradistinction from *chaou* (*sic*) 朝 which denotes the morning tide but is used generally.

So far, only one foreign lexicographer, W. H. Medhurst, a great scholar in his day, has suggested the object of our search, the ebb tide, as a definition of *hsi*. I have not Couvreur's Dictionary at hand; my recollection is that he does not mention the ebb.

Turning now to K'ang Hsi, where no attempt is made to define the character 汐, we find that the earliest Chinese dictionary there quoted for the sound of the word is the 廣韻 *Kuang yün*, known to us only from 1080 A.D., but said to be originally a work of the T'ang dynasty. [The edition in the Cambridge Library is dated 1704.] The earliest work from which a text containing the character is quoted, is the 類篇 *Lei p'ien* of Ssŭ-ma Kuang (*d.* 1086 A.D.). After stating that it is the name of a river, the writer adds that 海潮早曰潮夕曰汐 the waves of the sea are called, for the morning, *ch'ao*, and for the evening *hsi*. The following quotation, which seems to have been read by Medhurst alone, explains how the earth swells up in the ocean, causing its waters to run up rivers and by a reverse process back again, and states the point we are driving at, as follows: 地下則滄海之水入於江謂之潮 when the earth sinks (in a kind of breathing process), the water of the ocean runs up rivers and is called *ch'ao*; 地上則江湖之水歸之滄海謂之汐 when the earth rises, the water of rivers and lakes goes back to the ocean and is called *hsi*. Unfortunately, I am unable to identify the author, who dubs himself 東海漁翁海潮論 the Old Fisherman of the Eastern Sea discussing ocean tides. [Probably, some student in China will be able to do that, and so furnish the date.]

From the above we can only conclude that the writer regarded *ch'ao* as flood tide and *hsi* as ebb tide, and that he was later than the 11th century. Even he speaks in his heading of a discussion on *ch'ao*, in which he evidently included all tides.

The fact is that there was originally only one word, *ch'ao*, for tide, and also that the Chinese recognized only two tides a day, the early and the late flood. This is quite what one would expect in pre-historic times. The rolling up of the flood tide would always be a noticeable phenomenon, even on the calmest days; whereas the ebb tide would slip away without attracting the same attention.

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Before passing on to consider the character 潮 *ch'ao*, it remains to look at the quotations in the *P'ei wên yün fu* where the character 汐 appears. The first is from a poem by 張纘 Chang Tsuan, a strange being but a good scholar, who flourished as an official in the 6th century A.D. The character may thus have actually been given in the first edition of the *Kuang Yün*, usually attributed to the T'ang dynasty. The words are 拄汐引潮; and as the first character is explained as a synonym of the third, the meaning can only be "leading up the evening tide and bringing up the morning tide," both being flood tides.

Mei Yao-ch'ên of the 10th century (see *Biogr. Dict.*) has the following line: 姚江千里海汐應 "the Yao river meets the sea tide a thousand *li* up," which again suggests a flood tide in the evening, especially as *ch'ao* is mentioned in the next line.

A poet, named 吳子孝 Wu Tzŭ-hsiao, who graduated as late as 1529, has 海汐魚龍夜 "the sea tide (brings) fishes and dragons at night"

Another half crazy poet, named 葛長庚 Ko Ch'ang-kêng (13th cent.), who spent nine years in attaining Tao and then finally disappeared, has the following line: 晝潮夜汐大江東, which can only refer to "the flood tides of morning and evening, east of the Great River."

An official and poet, named 馬祖常 Ma Tsu-ch'ang, who died 1344 A.D., speaks of 鑿石通歸汐 "bore the rock to admit the returning night-flood."

Another poet, 戴長 Tai Ch'ang, of whom I can find no record, has 乘風遲來潮, 倚月候歸汐 "Influenced by the wind, late comes the morning flood; relying on the moon, we await the return of the evening flood." The term 歸汐 looks as if it might mean "the return (to the sea) of the ebbing tide," which would not make sense in the preceding quotation, and is certainly disposed of by the following line from the poet, 王逢 Wang Fêng, who was an official under the last Emperor of the Yüan dynasty but refused to serve under the Mings: 暮汐蠔開甲 "with the evening flood, the mussel opens its shell," the reverse of which it does with the ebb.

The last quotation given in the *P'ei wên yün fu* is from 管子 Kuan Tzŭ; that is, from the work which passes with the credulous under the name of the statesman, 管仲 Kuan Chung, of the 7th cent. B.C. It refers to floods and rain which come from mountain streams and the sky and are beneficial in the production of good crops. It runs thus: 天地湊汐, and seems to mean "which heaven and earth bring together as *hsi* (? here the name of the river);" but I really can make nothing out of it, either for or

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against any meaning of *hsi*. I have said already that *hsi* is not found in the *Shuo wên*. This fact cannot be taken to prove anything in regard to date of usage, as other early characters are equally not to be found there; but it is worth noting.

The character 潮 *ch'ao* offers perhaps a more interesting field for investigation, for it is undoubtedly a very ancient word and occurs in the earliest documents which have come down to us, though this latter fact seems to have escaped the notice of all scholars, including the editors of K'ang Hsi. The *Shuo wên* gives it under Radical 410 as "淖 a contraction of 潮"; upon which 徐鉉 Hsü Hsüan remarks that in the 隸 *li* script the contraction is not made. It seems as if 朝 or 卓 *chŏ* may have once been used with the meanings of "morning" and "tide," and that "water" and "moon" were afterwards added to distinguish the tide, the latter when the Chinese had begun to notice the influence of the moon; but why "moon" should have been added to "morning," as a complement, is not quite so reasonable. [After writing this, and on the day of its dispatch (27th July), I received a card from my expert friend, L. C. Hopkins, in which he says "卓 *cho* is a very obscure character," and draws attention to its more ancient form, as given in the *Shuo wên*, which I, not being an expert, had failed to note.]

Further, the *Shuo wên* has the following important sentence: 朝宗於海; important, because it is found in the Canon of History and also in the Odes. In the Tribute of Yü we read 江漢朝宗于海, and Dr. Legge, on the authority of the commentator, Ts'ai, translates as follows: "The Këang and the Han pursued their common course to the sea, as if they were hastening to court." K'ung An-kuo and others (see *Legge's Classics*, III, p.113) suggest "with the reverence for the sea that is seen in court for the sovereign." Again, in the Odes (p. 295), speaking of flowing waters, Dr. Legge translates the last four words of the above by "Go to the court of the sea." Now, as a general guide it may be said that when a rendering is nonsensical, it may at once be written off as wrong. It is difficult to conceive a more fantastic picture than that of the Yangtze and the Han rivers hurrying forth to go to the court of the ocean. The fact that great Chinese commentators have declared that this is the meaning need not give us pause. These venerable scholars believed that the earth was square and that the belly was the seat of memory; and while fully recognizing the great value of their work, without which much of the Canon would have been unintelligible to us, they must not be regarded as infallible.

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In like manner, Chinese archæologists, to whom we owe so much, bungled badly over 刀 筆, which they explained, with an illustration, as a knife-pen, to be used for cutting characters on tablets of wood or bamboo, instead of as a knife *and* a pen (brush), the latter for writing on the tablet and the former for scratching out. But if 刀 筆 meant a knife-pen, it must have been to distinguish it from some other kind of pre-existing pen; if from the pen (brush) itself, then cutting characters with a knife or style must post-date the use of the brush, "which," as an old friend of ours used to say, "is absurd."

I think I may claim to have given another bad example of Chinese commentators' wrong-headedness in *Adversaria Sinica*, I, p.21, referring to the famous answer of Confucius to the question, "What is filial piety." The sage replied briefly 色 難; and for centuries the accepted meaning of those two words has been "The difficulty is with the countenance," whereas the real meaning beyond doubt is, "To define it is difficult,"—a thoroughly intelligible answer.

To return to the sentence in the *Shuo wên*: 朝 宗 於 海, which gives the key to the meaning of the similar passages in the Canon of History and in the Odes, I have no hesitation in saying that its correct interpretation is, "The tides originate in the sea," a rendering which disposes of each character without any strain and offers a reasonable sense into the bargain.

I think that there is also no doubt that *ch'ao* meant the two flood tides of each twenty-four hours, such terms as 漲 潮 or 登潮 and 落潮 or 盧潮 being later on used, respectively, to distinguish the flood from the ebb. That 汐 has been used in more recent times for the ebb tide, say from the Sung dynasty onwards, is beyond question; it will be found with that sense in various topographies and elsewhere. At the same time, there are numerous instances of recent date to the contrary; *e.g.*, 何 喬 新 Ho Ch'iao-hsin, 1407-1502, says that at 錢 塘 Ch'ien-t'ang 潮 汐 三 日 不 至; and as the ebb-tide can hardly be said to arrive, this can only mean "for three days there arrived no morning or evening flood-tides." Neither does 盧 肇 Lu Chao, who graduated as first *chin shih* in 845, in his long 海 潮 賦 poetical essay on the tides, make any use of the character 汐, though he speaks of the 濤 waves which come regularly 朝 夕 morning and evening, evidently meaning the two flood tides of the day.

The topographies of the empire give examples of both the senses of 汐. In the 浙 江 通 志 we have 潮 汐 往 來 崩 漲 不 一 "the tides go and come, ebb and flow, not alike." In the 寧 波 府 志, on the other hand, we have 海 潮 晝 夜 凡 再

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至朝曰潮夕曰汐 "The sea tide comes up morning and night, twice in all. That of the morning is called *ch'ao*; that of the evening is called *hsi*."

In the 武進縣續志 there is a quotation from a Memorial by Su Tung-p'o, in which the following words occur: 海日兩潮 "The sea has two tides daily," both of which must have been flood tides, whatever the name of each.

I don't think that any of these topographies can be dated further back than, even if so far back as the Sung dynasty; and it is notorious that they have frequently been written up and edited by scholars of the day.

The remaining entries under 潮 in K'ang Hsi confirm the view that it meant either all the tides or the morning flood tides, and that 汐 was specially used to denote the evening tide.

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UNE NOUVELLE HISTOIRE DE LA CHINE *

Le nom de M. Henri Cordier est déjà bien connu, non seulement des sinologues, mais de tous ceux qui s'intéressent à l'action de la France en Extrême-Orient. Sa Bibliotheca sinica, indosinica, japonica, est un instrument de travail indispensable à quiconque veut s'initier aux mystères du monde jaune. Ses ouvrages sur la fondation des établissements français à Changhai et Ning-po, sur les expéditions anglo-françaises de 1858 et 1860, sur les relations de la Chine avec les puissances occidentales; ses chapitres consacrés à l'Extrême-Orient dans l'Histoire générale de Lavisse et Rambaud; de nombreux articles concernant la Chine dans la Grande Encyclopédie ou la Catholic Encyclopaedia américaine, l'ont fait connaitre du grand public.

Le docte membre de l'Institut vient de rendre un nouveau service à tous les amis des études sinologiques en leur donnant, en quatre volumes de justes dimensions, élégamment imprimés, et dont les manchettes multipliées, les sous-titres nombreux, les références précises facilitent à souhait l'activité personnelle du lecteur, une Histoire générale de la Chine depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à la révolution de 1911. Aucun travail aussi complet, aussi consciencieux n'existe encore dans aucune langue, et nous aurons sans doute la fierté d'en saluer bientôt des traductions étrangères.

Jusqu'ici les sinologues prenaient pour base de leurs études sur l'histoire de Chine le T'oung Kien Kang Mou † (Histoire géné-

* H. Cordier. *Histoire général de la Chine*, et de ses relations avec les pays étrangers, depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'à la chute de la dynastie Mandchoue. Paris, Geuthner, 3 tomes in 8° 1920. Le quatrième est annoncé. [It has since been published. *Ed. N.C.R.*] Dépôt à Changhai chez M.M. Kelly and Walsh.

† Je préviens les lecteurs de ce compte-rendu que M. Cordier use de la romanisation que le ministère des affaires étrangères français et l'Ecole des langues orientales ont adoptée.

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rale de la Chine) adapté en français par le P. de Maillá, S.J., et publié, de 1777 à 1780, par Grosier en 11 volumes in 4°. Cet important ouvrage a été tiré, sous la direction du célèbre philosophe Tchou-Hi (1130-1220) du Tseu Tche T'oung Kien (Miroir universel à l'usage des gouvernants) de l'historien Se-ma Kouang, puis continué par divers historiens jusqu'à la dynastie mongole, des Youen (1206-1367). Mailla complète cette compilation par des emprunts faits à des historiens chinois postérieurs, et les conduit jusqu'à la quarantième année de K'ang Hi (1702).

C'est l'ouvrage du Père de Mailla qui fait le fond de la nouvelle histoire de la Chine ; elle se borne souvent pour la politique intérieure, a le résumer et à lui emprunter des extraits. Certains sinologues regrettent que M. Cordier n'ait pas suivi de plus près l'original chinois, et ne l'ait pas traduit littéralement dans les passages caractéristiques. L'œuvre du P. de Mailla n'est pas, en effet, une traduction ; c'est une adaptation en style noble, comme on les aimait au 18° siècle ; et une version littérale du texte chinois serait souvent bien plus savoureuse, bien plus représentative du génie de la race. M. Cordier a enrichi l'œuvre du P. de Mailla de tout l'apport que les travaux du dix-neuvième siècle lui fournissaient.

I. L'HISTOIRE POLITIQUE.

Histoire intérieure. Relations avec les pays étrangers.

Une analyse des trois volumes de M. Cordier serait fastidieuse pour nos lecteurs ; nous croyons leur donner un plus juste aperçu des trésors qu'ils contiennent en rattachant nos remarques à quelques idées générales.

L'histoire politique intérieure de la Chine tient naturellement la plus grande place dans le récit de M. Cordier. Avec un vrai courage il s'efforce, à la suite du P. de Mailla, de donner la substance des annales des dix-neuf premières dynasties. Après avoir exposé les diverses théories sur l'origine des Chinois (Egypte, Assyrie, Annam) et reconnu loyalement qu'aucune n'est satisfaisante, il reproduit les légendes, si populaires encore aujourd'hui, sur les trois immortels et les cinq empereurs ; pères de la civilisation chinoise. Puis c'est la succession, d'une monotonie rebutante, des drames de palais, des conspirations, des guerres civiles et des guerres contre les barbares des frontières. La nécessité de condenser en quelques pages l'histoire de chaque dynastie oblige l'auteur à supprimer les épisodes charactéristiques de chaque époque qui, dans le texte chinois reposent le lecteur et lui ménagent de vraies jouissances. Aussi la lecture du pre

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mier volume est-elle pénible; cet inconvénient était inévitable étant données les limites que l'auteur s'était prescrites. Du moins l'exposé est clair et précis, et on peut suivre facilement à l'aide d'un bon atlas la naissance, les progrès, la décadence parfois bien prompte, des diverses dynasties.

Pour un lecteur européen, la question intéressante entre toutes est celle des premières relations de la Chine avec notre Occident. M. Cordier l'a magistralement traitée et cet exposé repose le lecteur du rude labeur qu'il a dû s'imposer pour suivre les vicissitudes de l'Empire et des principautés féodales. Depuis la marche victorieuse d'Alexandre aux Indes (326) deux états gouvernés par des princes grecs, la Bactriane et la Sogdiane, se sont maintenus, malgré bien des vicissitudes, au nord de l'Hindoustan actuel. Or, au premier siècle avant notre ère, les chinois cherchent la route des Indes. Un hardi explorateur, Tchang K'ien, envoyé par l'empereur Wou Ti (141-87), dans un voyage de treize années, parcourt les peuplades des frontjères occidentales de la Chine, cherchant à conclure des alliances contre l'ennemi commun, les terribles Hiong Nou, les Huns, plus tard tristement célèbrès dans notre Occident. Il ne réussit guère, mais quand il rentre à la cour de son maitre vers 128, il rapporte un trésor d'observations et de documents sur les peuples de l'Occident. A la suite de ces explorations, plusieurs expéditions militaires sont faites dans l'Ouest et le sud-ouest, à la recherche de la route de l'Inde, des colonies militaires installées. Un effort analogue est tenté par mer—"Il parait certain que, dès les premières années du premier siècle avant Jésus-Christ, des produits de l'Asie antérieure empruntaient la voie maritime, pour arriver de proche en proche jusqu'en Chine, et que tout au début de notre ère, sur l'ordre de la cour, une mission chinoise parcourut tout l'Océan Indien" (p.237).

Pendant le premier siècle de notre ère, un des plus grands hommes de guerre que nous présente l'histoire chinoise, Pan Tch'ao, gouverneur général de tous les territoires de l'Ouest, rend tributaires plusieurs peuples de l'Asie centrale. A sa cour, établie à Kou Tcha, les ambassadeurs de ces peuples se pressent ; parmi eux des Grecs venus de Sogdiane et de Bactriane. Ce qu'ils racontent de la civilisation occidentale décide Pan Tch'ao à envoyer un ambassadeur qui parcourra ces merveilleuses contrées et s'efforcera d'établir avec elles des relations commerciales. Il députe Kan Ying en mission au pays du Ta Ts'in (partie orientale de l'empire romain). Celui-ci parvient jusqu'au golfe Persique. Mais là, les marins syriens, qui transportaient les marchandises entre la Perse et l'Egypte, et réalisaient des gains fabuleux, s'effraient de cette ambassade qui établirait des relations directes

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entre la Chine et les ports égyptiens ; ils font à Kan Ying une si terrible description des fatigues et des dangers du voyage que le prudent ambassadeur renonce à son entreprise.

Après ce que nous venons de dire sur les relations de la Chine avec les états grecs de l'Asie centrale et les pays riverains de l'Océan indien, rien d'étonnant à ce que les écrivains grecs et romains aient eu des notions assez précises sur les peuples établis à l'est de la péninsule indienne. Ptolémée connait les Sinae, à l'est de l'Inde, et les nations de la Sérique qui leur sont limitrophes ; d'autres auteurs grecs mentionnent les Thinae ou Sinae, au nord et nord-ouest desquels les Séres sont établis. Virgile, Horace, Strabon, Pomponius Méla, mentionnent les Séres ; Pline l'ancien et Ammien Marcellin nous donnent de curieux détails sur la récolte et le tissage de la soie venue du pays des Séres.

D'après l'historien Florus, une ambassade du pays des Séres serait venue à Rome sous le régne d'Auguste ; si le fait est vrai, il s'agit probablement de marchands venus de la Bactriane.

D'après les annales chinoises, en 166, un individu, se donnant comme ambassadeur de Ngan Touen (Antonin, Marc Auréle), serait venu offrir des présents à l'empereur Houan Ti ; mais ces présents mesquins auraient été dédaignés. Probablement il s'agissait d'un marchand syrien qui, pour obtenir meilleur accueil aurait pris la qualité d'ambassadeur.

La soie est alors l'objet du grand commerce de la Chine avec l'empire romain. D'après Ptolémée, qui tenait ses renseignements de voyageurs, les caravanes partaient d'Hiérapolis sur l'Euphrate, puis, par la Bactriane, les bassins de l'Oxus et du Tarim, gagnaient Kachgar. Les ballots chinois, parvenus dans les grandes villes de Mésopotamie, descendaient jusqu'au golfe persique, puis, par la mer rouge, gagnaient l'Egypte, et étaient transportés à Petra (probablement Alexandrie).

A partir du troisième siècle, les annales dynastiques font fréquemment mention du Ta Ts'in, dont la capitale est An Tou (Antioche), et les relations avec la partie orientale de l'Empire romain sont bien établies.

Elles se continueront avec Constantinople où, dès le sixième siècle, des pélerins ont apporté, cachés dans leurs bâtons, des oeufs de vers à soie, permettant ainsi la production dans l'Empire des précieux tissus qu'il fallait jadis faire venir de si loin.

Les Arabes, à la suite de leurs conquêtes rapides en Perse, entrent vite en rapports commerciaux avec la Chine ; le fameux Haroun ar Raschid, en même temps qu'il envoyait des ambassadeurs à Charlemagne, en dépêchait à l'empereur T'ang (708).

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Sous la vingtième dynastie, celle des Mongols, venus du Nord, la Chine septentrionale est conquise par les généraux du fameux Tchinguiz Khan (le puissant Khan) (1213 et suiv.) pendant que celui-ci pousse contre notre Europe ses terribles expéditions. La conquête se continue sous ses successeurs Ogotai et Mangkou, au milieu d'effroyables scènes. En 1267, K'oublaï, devenu maitre des trois quarts de la Chine, fonde une ville nouvelle, Khan Baliq, la ville du Khan, sur l'emplacement de l'antique Yeou Tcheou (Péking actuel). Il achève la conquête en s'emparant des provinces méridionales de la Chine, et à partir de 1279 il régne sans conteste sur l'immense Empire, lancant des expéditions, infructeuses du reste, contre le Japon, la Birmanie, l'Annam.

Il fait bon accueil aux marchands occidentaux, dont les plus illustres sont les Vénitiens Polo, immortalisés par les récits de Marco l'un d'entre eux; celui-ci, venu tout jeune en Chine, jouit de la pleine confiance de K'oublai, qui lui confie d'importantes missions d'inspection, et le fait préfet de Yang Tcheou, sur le grand canal. M. Cordier nous donne un bon résumé de ses travaux antérieurs sur l'oeuvre de Marco Polo. La prospérité des Mongols n'est pas de longue durée ; les descendants de K'oublai se déchirent entre eux, et à la faveur de ces divisions, des rébellions chinoises éclatent dans le sud. En 1368, Yen King, l'ancienne Khan Baliq, est reconquise pai le prince de Wou, qui fonde la vingt-et-unième dynastie sous le nom de Ming.

La dynastie nationale des Ming, placée entre les deux dynasties étrangères des Mongols et des Mandchous, est bien effacée. A la suite des progrès des musulmans dans l'Asie centrale, et des exploits fanatiques de ceux qui gouvernent l'Egypte, le commerce est arrêté entre la Chine et l'Occident pendant tout le quinzième siècle. Avec les premières expéditions portugaises qui tournent le cap de Bonne Espérance, il reprendra plus florissant que jamais. En 1514 le Portugais Jorge Alvarez s'installe dans l'ile de Tamao, prés de Sari Tchoan. En 1516, Perestrello, cousin de Colomb, va commercer à Canton, en 1520 Pirès conduit une ambassade de cette ville à Péking. M. Cordier nous conte en détail, tant d'après les relations européennes que les sources chinoises, les premières fondations des portugais au Kouang Tong au Tché-Kiang et au Fou-kien, et les causes, bien honteuses en somme, de leurs échecs. Macao est fondé en 1549 ou 1557, et devient pour deux siècles le principal entrepôt du commerce entre l'Europe

*A la suite de la plupart des auteurs, M. Cordier fait dériver le nom donné quasi universellement aux habitants de l'Empire du milieu (Sinae, Tinae, Tsin, Chine) de la dynastie des Tsin qui régnait au second siècle avant Jésus-Christ.

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et la Chine. Les Espagnols ont conquis les Philippines de 1565 à 1569, et de là envoient plusieurs ambassades et missions commerciales que la jalousie des Portugais réussit à faire échouer. Les Hollandais, dont une factorerie est installée à Hirando au Japon dès 1609, se sont emparés des Pescadores en 1622, de Formose en 1642. Leur domination y sera bien éphémère, et leur rôle se réduira désormais à des entreprises commerciales. En 1620, un navire anglais, l'Unicorn, allant au Japon, est jeté à la côte par une tempête près de Macao; les années suivantes plusieurs expéditions de la compagnie anglaise des Indes orientales essaient en vain de nouer des relations avec Canton ; les intrigues portugaises les font échouer. Depuis les débuts du dix-septième siècle, une coalition menaçante de peuples tartares, dite des Mandchous, se forme au nord de la Chine, et commence ses invasions. En 1606 un de leurs chefs T'ai Tsou est proclamé empereur, et son fils T'ai Tsoung donne à la dynastie le nom de Ta Ts'ing (grande pure). Leur capitale est à Moukden. Malgré les efforts des mandarins chrétiens de la cour des Ming qui, bien conseillés par les missionnaires, auraient voulu donner à l'armée chinoise des instructeurs portugais, et l'auraient ainsi rendue capable d'une sérieuse résistance, ni Wan Li (1572-1620) ni ses successeurs ne prennent de précautions sérieuses contre le danger qui les menace. A partir de 1620, les Mandchous avancent de plus en plus au nord et à l'est. En 1635 leur empereur T'aï Tsoung prend le titre d'empereur de Chine ; en 1644, profitant d'une guerre civile entre un chef rebelle et l'armée des Ming, ils sont accueillis à Péking en libérateurs et y restent. Les derniers descendants des Ming perdent l'une après l'autre les provinces du sud. Un descendant de Wan Li, Young Li, dont la famille est chrétienne, résiste encore au Kouang Tong avec l'appui des Portugais en 1650. Mais cette année les Mandchous emportent Canton ; Young Li se réfugie en Birmanie et quelques années plus tard il est livré à K'ang Hi et mis à mort (1663).

Chouen Tche, successeur de T'aï Tsoung, a un court mais glorieux régne et rétablit l'unité de l'Empire. En 1656, la première ambassade russe (Feodor Isakovitch Baïkov) arrive à Péking, et essaie, sans y parvenir, d'apaiser les querelles entre russes et chinois à propos de la frontière sibérienne.

K'ang Hi, fils et successeur de Chouen Tche (1662-1722) a été, à juste raison, surnommé le Louis XIV des chinois. Son énergie à réprimer les rébellions, ses glorieuses campagnes contre les Eleuthes, ses travaux littéraires, l'éclat de sa cour, où les missionnaires portugais et français ont introduit les arts et les sciences de l'Occident, les ambassades portugaises, hollandaises,

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russes, la tolérance et même la faveur qu'il témoigne au christianisme, donnent à son régne une incomparable splendeur. En 1662 les Hollandais ont été expulsés de Formose par le fameux pirate Koxinga, et le fils de celui-ci s'étant soumis en 1683, l'île revient à l'Empire. K'ang Hi, malgre les manoeuvres des Portugais, a autorisé le commerce des nations européennes à Canton, et les premières factoreries s'installent dans les dernières années du dix-septième siècle. Un grand négociant de Canton, le marchand de l'empereur, sert alors d'intermédiaire entre les européens et les chinois. En 1697, la Compagnie de Chine, fondée en grande partie à l'instigatio des jésuites français, prépare ses premières entreprises ; le premier voyage de l'Amphitrite (1698-1700) est un superbe succès, et dès lors les expéditions françaises à Canton ne cesseront plus.

Young Tcheng (1723-1735), étroit et inintelligent, violent persécuteur du christianisme, a laissé un nom peu glorieux ; le seul événement important de son régne est le traité de Kiakhta (1er Nov. 1727) négocié par le comte Sava Vladislavitch, base véritable des relations de la Chine et de la Russie jusqu'à nos jours.

K'ien Loung (1736-1796) a la gloire de terminer la guerre des Eleuthes et de conquérir une bonne partie du Turkestan ; d'autres expéditions contre la Birmanie et l'Annam sont moins heureuses. Le commerce de l'Europe avec Canton se développe, et successivement les diverses nations y installent des factoreries ; M. Cordier nous en donne une vivante description, il note les conflits multipliés qui s'élévent entre commerçants européens et chinois, et préparent les guerres du dix-neuvième siècle. La mission française de d'Entrecasteaux en 1787 à Canton l'ambassade de lord Macartney à Péking en 1792 et 1793, celle des Hollandais en 1794 et 1795 n'obtiennent aucune-concession, et il devient évident qu'il faudra avoir recours à la force pour imposer à la Chine des relations commerciales dignes des peuples civilisés.

K'ien Loung persécute à la fois chrétiens, musulmans de l'ouest membres des societès secrétes chinoises, et suscite ainsi de nombreuses rébellions, dont il triomphe difficilement. L'empereur est renommé comme lettré; son éloge de la ville de Moukden est encore classique aujourd'hui ; les collections formées par lui des meilleures ouvrages, parmi lesquels plusieurs sont dus à des missionnaires catholiques, dirigeant la rédaction de mandarins convertis par eux, sont restées célèbres.

Avec Kia K'ing (1796-1820) la décadence s'accuse. Inintelligent, cruel, ivrogne, tracassier et insultant dans ses rapports avec les Européens. il fait l'accueil le plus blessant à l'ambassade

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anglaise de lord Amherst en 1816. En 1806 il lance un édit de persécution contre les chrétiens ; Monseigneur Taurin Dufresse M.E., et le P. Clet C.M., en sont les plus illustres victimes. De toutes parts éclatent les rébellions et quand le misérable empereur, que ses vices contre nature ont rendu méprisable à tous, meurt frappé de la foudre le 2 septembre 1820, la Chine est mure pour l'intervention étrangère.

II. L'HISTOIRE DES IDEES

M. Cordier a très justement fait une large place dans ses trois volumes à l'histoire des idées. Ce qui a fait en effet l'unité de la Chine, au milieu d'une anarchie politique presque continuelle, c'est l'influence de ses lettrés. Et si son histoire politique est, au moins jusqu'au Moyen Age, d'une répugnante monotonie, du contraire, l'introduction successive des trois religions qui, aujourd, hui encore se partagent la quasi totalité des habitants de l'immense république, leurs transformations au cours des âges, offrent un vif intérêt. M. Cordier a donc décrit, avec l'ampleur qu'elle mérite, l'oeuvre de Confucius (551-479). Il n'estime pas outre mesure le talent et l'influence de Maitre K'oung. Rien d'original: son seul mérite est d'avoir composé des recueils de morceaux choisis qui, grâce à lui, survécurent à la destruction des originaux antiques. Aucune métaphysique ; " c'est un pur moraliste dont les préceptes reposent sur les vertus naturelles n'ayant rien d'héroïque, avec un côté pratique." M. Cordier insiste, avec raison, sur cette fameuse " piété filiale " (Hiao King) qui est à peu près la seule religion des lettrés, et comprend l'ensemble des devoirs envers la famille, le prince et la patrie.

Bien autrement élevées sont les doctrines de Lao Tseu (né en 604, et dont la date de mort est incertaine) ; nos anciens missionnaires, et plus d'un moderne après eux, y ont relevé bien des thèses qu'un chrétien ne désavouerait pas. Malheureusement ses disciples ont, au cours des âges, perverti l'oeuvre du maitre, et ont entassé légendes sur légendes. Avec l'introduction du bouddhisme en Chine au premier siècle de notre ère, la vie religieuse du peuple va subir une transformation profonde. M. Cordier nous décrit en détail les voyages des pélerins chinois qui s'en vont aux Indes chercher les livres sacrés et suivre l'enseignement des grands maitres ; il nous montre la propagation successive du bouddhisme, a travers les provinces chinoises d'abord, puis en Corée et au Japon.

Les vicissitudes des trois religions, tantôt ennemies et profitant de la faveur impériale pour persécuter leurs rivales, tantôt s'essay-

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ant à un commode syncrétisme, sont soigneusement relevées à chaque période.

Avec le même soin M. Cordier s'est attaché à l'histoire du christianisme et du mahométisme en Chine. Les premiers qui apportèrent la foi chrétienne à l'immense empire furent, semble-t-il, des hérétiques venus de Perse ; car M. Cordier n'estime même pas digne de discussion la légende de l'évangélisation par S. Thomas ou d'autres missionnaires des temps apostoliques.

Les nestoriens s'introduisent au 7° siècle, comme nous l'apprend la fameuse inscription encore conservée aujourd'hui dans la "forêt des stèles" de Si Ngan Fou. Bien reçus par T'aï Tsoung, ils ont deux siècles de prospérité, jusqu' à l'édit de Wou Tsoung, en 845, qui les expulse en même temps que les tenants des autres religions étrangères. Ils se réfugient dans les royaumes plus ou moins indépendants qui occupent le Turkestan actuel. Un de leurs chefs, prince des Kara Kitaï sera ce fameux prêtre Jean, si célèbre chez nos vieux chroniqueurs.—Les auteurs du nestorianisme rentreront triomphants en Chine avec les Mongols, et ils jouiront d'une grande vogue jusqu' à l'avénement des Ming, à la fin du quatorzième siècle ; ils seront alors emportés par la même tempête que les missions catholiques.

Les manichéens, venus également de Perse, s'introduisent dans le dernier quart du 6° siècle. Les magnifiques découvertes de M. Paul Pelliot, dans les grottes de Touen Houang nous ont renseignés sur l'activité de cette secte néfaste, dans les provinces du nord de la Chine, et les manuscrits découverts par lui nous livrent des traités manichéens authentiques qu'on ne connaissait jusqu' ici que par des citations des Pères.

Les premiers missionnaires catholiques apparaissent au treizième siècle lorsque, les progrès des Mongols terrifiant la vieille Europe, le Pape Innocent IV, pendant le concile de Lyon (1246) se décide à prendre contact avec les envahisseurs. Pour cette expédition, dont il y avait bien des chances que les ambassadeurs ne revinssent pas, le Pape trouve ceux qu'il employait alors à toutes les tâches de péril et de gloire, les franciscains. Jean de Plan de Carpino et ses compagnons parviennent en juillet 1246 à la grande Horde d'Or près de Karakorum ; ils en repartent en novembre de la même année, ayant échoué dans leur tentative diplomatique, mais rapportant des trésors d'informations. La même année 1247, une ambassade dominicaine est envoyée aux Mongols de Perse, mais son intransigeance lui vaut un échec complet. Puis ce sont des ambassadeurs Mongols qui viennent proposer une alliance à Saint Louis pendant sa croisade (1248) et repartent précédant une nouvelle ambassade dominicaine qui ne

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réussit pas mieux que la première. Enfin le franciscain Rubrouck (Rubruquis), dans une nouvelle légation, (1253-1255) collige les plus curieux détails sur les camps tartares et la vie à Karakorum.

Les souverains mongols, malgré l'insolence de leurs réponses aux papes et aux princes chrétiens, étaient tolérants. En 1292 Jean de Monte Corvino obtient de K'oublai l'autorisation de construire une église à Khanbaliq (Péking); en 1307 il est consacré archevêque par trois franciscains évêques envoyés de Clément V ; un autre évêché est fondé à Zaïtoun (Ts'iouen Tcheou), un autre à Ili. D'abondants renforts sont envoyés à ces églises, et bien que la plus grande partie de ces saintes caravanes succombe en route, les survivants permettent de maintenir et de développer les oeuvres. Les intrépides voyageurs, tels le Bx Odoric de Pordenone (1318 à 1330) et Jean de Marignolli (1338 à 1353) continuent à accumuler les renseignements les plus précieux sur l'Extrême Orient. M. Cordier que ses études antérieures avaient admirablement préparé à nous donner une large exposition de ce grand mouvement des missions médiévales, lui a consacré un tiers de son second volume.

Avec l'avénement des Ming (fin du 14° siècle) et les terribles guerres civiles qu'il détermine, les établissements catholiques disparaissent; nous savons qu' un des évêques de Zaïtoun mourut martyr ; il y eut sans doute bien des holocaustes connus de Dieu seul.

Avec les voyages de découverte des Portugais le mouvement des missions catholiques reprend plus actif que jamais. Saint François Xavier est mort à San Tchoan en 1552, en essayant de pénétrer à Canton.* Le premier missionnaire catholique qui semble avoir réussi à s'implanter en Chine est le dominicain Gaspar da Cruz, arrivé en 1556, revenu à Lisbonne en 1569. Les jésuites Nunêz Barreto (1555) Pérez (1564 et 1565) plusieurs autres après eux font des voyages à Canton, mais n'obtiennent pas la permission de fonder des postes. Michel Ruggieri établit la première résidence des jésuites à Tchao K'ing (1582) ; il retourne en Europe en 1588. Le vrai fondateur des nouvelles missions de Chine est Matthieu Ricci, installé à Tchao K'ing en 1583, à Nanking en 1598, à Péking en 1601, après bien des vicissitudes. Sur les travaux des jésuites de la vice-province de Chine, et ceux de leurs confrères français à partir des dernières années du dix-

*M. Cordier, d'ordinaire si bien documenté, ne semble avoir utilisé ni le St. François-Xavier du P. Brou, ni les Monumenta Xaveriana des pères espagnols. Il tient encore, avec le P. Cros, que Xavier mourut le 27 novembre, alors que les documents nouveaux publiés dans les Monumenta semblent décisifs en faveur de la nuit du 2 au 3 décembre.

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septième siècle, sur les associations de missionnaires qui prennent part à l'oeuvre apostolique, M. Cordier nous donne tous les renseignements désirables, et son exposé témoigne d'une connaissance approfondie de l'immense production littéraire de nos pères, aussi bien que d'une absolue sympathie.

L'auteur ne pouvait se dérober au récit et à la discussion de la terrible controverse qui mit aux prises les missionnaires pendant plus de cent ans à propos des cérémonies chinoises. Si l'exposé historique des faits est exact et précis, les appréciations de M. Cordier appellent malheureusement les plus expresses réserves. Ainsi, après avoir résumé la bulle de Benoit XIV qui mit fin à la controverse, il conclut : (t. 3, p. 331) "Tout était fini. On imposait aux missionnaires à destination de la Chine, aussi bien qu'à ceux qui y résidaient déjà, une formule de serment par lequel ils ne devaient plus approuver le culte rendu à Confucius, et aux ancêtres, et ils devaient accepter le terme unique de T'ien Tchou, Seigneur du ciel, pour désigner Dieu. A Dieu ne plaise que je critique le verdict du Saint Père ! En matière de dogme, un grand théologien, comme l'était Benoit XIV, ne pouvait se tromper. Et cependant, parmi ses prédécesseurs Alexandre VII, approuvait ce qu'il condamnait: "Chigi était-il moins infaillible que Lambertini ?" Dans ces dernières affirmations il y a une double erreur. Le décret d'Alexandre VII, pas plus que la bulle de Benoit XIV n'est un de ces documents ex cathedra dont le concile du Vatican a defini l'infaillibilite. Entre les documents il n'y a aucune contradiction. Alexandre VII a jugé, il le dit expressément "juxta exposita," d'aprés l'exposé des faits qui lui avait été présenté par les jésuites. Après Clément XI, Benoit XIV jugea que cet exposé n'était pas exact, et surtout pas complet, et il revint sur la décision que cet exposé avait motivée.

M. Cordier avait été mieux inspiré quand, parlant de la piété filiale, à propos de la religion des lettrés, il écrivait (t. 1, p. 172) "Le culte des ancêtres est une religion, une véritable religion, avec des cérémonies parfaitement précises, et c'est ainsi que l'a compris le Saint Siège." La même remarque s'applique au culte de Confucius. Tout est là. Après longue et sérieuse enquête, Rome a reconnu que ces pratiques "ne pouvaient se séparer de la superstition." Dès lors, et quelles que fussent les conséquences de la condamnation, elle devenait nécessaire. Par le fait même l'Eglise catholique perdait pour longtemps son influence sur les classes supérieures de la société chinoise, aucun chrétien ne pouvant plus réguliérement se présenter aux examens du mandarinat ni exercer aucune charge publique. Elle a accepté cette terrible conséquence pour sauvegarder la pureté de sa

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doctrine et de son culte. Pour une religion on ne peut dire que ce soit là "un mouvement rétrograde."

Les appréciations de M. Cordier sur les derniers temps de l'ancienne mission des jésuites à Péking (t. 3, p 397 sqq.) paraitront également bien sévères à ceux qui auront lu, soit le volume du P. de Rochemonteix sur Joseph Amiot, soit les articles que M. Cordier lui-même a, dans le Toung-pao, consacrés à ces tristes évènements. Les anciens jésuites français restés à Péking après la publication du Bref Dominus ac Redemptor se partagèrent en deux groupes ; le premier, dirigé par le P. Bourgeois, le dernier supérieur, conserva à la France les biens de la mission française, jusqu' à l'arrivée des lazaristes substitués aux jésuites par Rome et Paris ; trois anciens jésuites dissidents, les PP. de Ventavon, de Grammont et de Poirot, se prêtaient au transfert de ces biens aux propagandistes. Comme M. Cordier, nous croyons que le bon droit, le véritable esprit religieux, étaient du côté du premier groupe. Mais la question était assez obscure pour que les dissidents aient droit aux circonstances atténuantes.

A la fin de son troisième volume, M. Cordier nous expose les débuts des missions protestantes, avec Robert Morrison, installé en 1807 à Macao, puis à Canton. Le quatrième volume nous réserve évidemment une description complète de l'activité de nos frères séparés en Chine.

De même que les missions chrétiennes, et à la même époque, les diverses sectes musu'manes commencent à exercer une sérieuse influence en Chine. Dès le siècle qui suit la mort de Mahomet, les Arabes ont conquis la Perse, et a travers le Turkestan commencent leurs premières relations avec la Chine ; à la même époque leurs hardis navigateurs se lancent à travers l'océan indien et la mer de Chine, et parviennent à Canton, où ils ont une colonie florissante ; toute liberté de culte leur est laissée ; nombreux et puissants dans les provinces de l'Ouest, ils créeront, à différentes époques un vrai danger par leurs rébellions.

En même temps que l'histoire des idées, et spécialement des idées religieuses, celle des arts et des sciences en Chine a été traitée d'une manière succincte, mais suffisante, par M. Cordier. Un chapitre entier est consacré aux premiers monuments de l'art chinois sous les Wei (les premières sculptures sur pierre découvertes jusqu' ici datent du premier siècle avant Jésus Christ et des premiers de notre ère) et aux monuments de l'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhare (Peshawar actuel) dont les imitations se multiplient en Chine avec les progrès du bouddhisme (5° siècle et suivants). La curieuse civilisation des Mongols est décrite en détail d'après les récits des missionnaires franciscains et des voyageurs comme

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Marco Polo. Enfin une bonne étude nous est donnée de l'oeuvre des géographes, ingénieurs, artistes en tout genre, que l'ancienne mission de Péking mit au service des princes mandchous.

Inutile de dire qu'une description suffisante des ouvrages classiques chinois des belles époques littéraires, des grandes collections d'ouvrages recommandables que les empereurs firent éditer au 18° siècle, permet même aux profanes de prendre une première idée de la littérature chinoise.

Ce compte-rendu trop pâle et trop sec donnera, je l'espère, à plusieurs lecteurs l'envie de faire connaissance de plus près avec la nouvelle histoire de Chine ; ils n'auront pas à s'en repentir.

JOSEPH DE LA SERVIÈRE, S.J.

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CHINESE DITTIES

BY

E. T. C. WERNER,
H.B.M. CONSUL, FOOCHOW (RETIRED)

(*Continued from page 375*)

不倒 下雨摔 好陰天 好大脚 怕大脚 雨不害 陰天下 大脚大 大脚大

Big feet [although] big [are good!] Big feet [although] big [are good!] On dark, rainy days they do not fear [being steady] Big feet are good! Big feet are good! On dark, rainy days they do not stumble.

[This and the next are from the Wu-ch'ing district, Chihli. "Big" is used relatively to the size of the small cramped feet of women.]

脚幹什麼(么) 那們點小 紅花兒要 梳油頭帶 說(留下)罷 脚大女增 婆出來嫌 大門口婆 送他婆婆 腌二兩酒 錢三觔豆 閨女不值 飯甜養活 大白豆做

The food, though made [only] of large white beans, is sweet. The girl has been cheaply reared: three catties of bean-curd and two ounces of wine [will buy her as a wife.] She is sent to the front door of her mother-in-law's house. Her mother-in-law comes out, but objects to her big feet. Her future husband [*lit.*, the son-in-law] [however] says: "Let her stay; she will dress her hair with oil and put a red flower in it. What do you want such dots of feet for?"

[The marital relation ("in-law") dates from the time of betrothal.]

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到半婦得半米二半稱大底涼亮湊皮自鵝賤餅厨覺相家亮
月初吃碗阿雜饃賣看雄下棚月十粟家鵝肉香房去相場月
半一得半婆得半賣二雞一涼亮來粟生鴨又魚下乘掇上亮
顆粒媳吃斗雜看斤稱隻櫥搭樣湊粉蛋强又煥涼板白家

The moon is very bright, and shines very white on all the threshing-floors. I take a stool and go out for an airing. The crisping pancake in the kitchen smells good. The fish and meat are both cheap [*lit.*, the fish is cheap and the meat good (see note).] The hens', geese', and ducks' eggs are home-laid, and with the vermicelli and vegetables there are altogether about ten kinds of eatables.

The moon is very bright. I put up an awning of matting. Under the awning there is a big cock. On weighing him I see that he scales 2½ catties. I will be able to sell him for 25 cents. With this I can buy a peck and a half of rice. My mother-in-law will eat one bowl and a half; but the wife [I] will get only a grain and a half. Thus I endure hardships half the time [*lit.*, from the first to the fifteenth of the month.]

[The price named would seem to indicate that the song belongs to thirty or more years ago. The ditty is a characteristic one in good style and alludes to the oppression of the people by their officials. 相 for 浪; 掇 should be read 得; 煥 bright, here a localism: to make crisp by baking; 强 a localism for 價 彔; to make the rhyme correct 生 should be 養.]

好拢吵呢你的的自泡吾莫怎乾莫好打呵呢怎張窗
呵罷吾怕怎破莫好泡起有麼乾兒呵罷吾怕麼官外
臬起盛麼皮兒呵罷你牙不粟呀你臬起狗不老是
感你子不襖呀你臬點咬吃呵拿拿感你子進呵射
自拢咬穿呵背背感水呵呢你的的自打咬來你呀

"Who is that outside the window?" "Old Chang." "Why don't you come in?" "I am afraid of being bitten by the dog." "Let me drive him away for you." "Very good." "What have you in your hand?" "Dried dates." "Why don't you eat them?" "Because I have no teeth." "I will fetch water for you to boil them in." "Very good." "What is that over your shoulders?" "A worn-out fur jacket." "Why do you not wear it." "I am afraid of being bitten by the lice." "Let me catch them for you." "Very good."

[Current in Wên Têng and Jung Hsien, Shantung. 射 for 誰; 起 for 給; 臬感自好 met. for 那很好; 莫兒=甚麼.]

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毛兒毛兒拉捻子回頭看三板子

"Thieves! thieves! catch them!" Whoever looks round gets three slaps!

[毛兒 refers to the 長毛賊, or long-haired robbers (T'ai-p'ings). Têng Hsien formerly suffered from the attention of these rebels to such an extent that the mere mention of the word "robbers" caused fear in the hearts of the inhabitants. Thus, in the reigns of Hsien Fêng, T'ung Chih, and Kuang Hsü of the late Ch'ing dynasty groups of children when at play would join hands and sit down in a circle. One would walk round outside the circle singing this ditty, and anyone who turned round at the mention of the word received three slaps with a shoe.]

木大作梁女大填房

A tree, when full-grown, [is good for] use as a beam. A woman, when full-grown, is married [only] as a secondary wife.

[From Têng Hsien, Honan. In this district women are betrothed at an unusually early age (even for China), so that if a woman is late in getting engaged the husband probably has already married his first wife, and she becomes only his second-ary wife or concubine. Trees should not be felled too soon, nor women married too late.]

黑白老老鴰鴰
公公婆母犁耙
地拔後土行子
路上拉話做莊
莫笑君子好的
俺們邊拾麥稼

Black crows! white crows! While the father-in-law is ploughing, and the mother-in-law uprooting the weeds, the daugh-ter-in-law follows behind picking out the hard lumps. You gentlemen travelling by, do not laugh at us. We are working for a good harvest!

[By the custom of the Têng Hsien district a father-in-law scarcely ever sees his daughter-in-law, but among the agriculturists the field-work necessitates their meeting; hence this ditty. "White crows" are the "gentleman travellers," who are as little desired by the agriculturalists whilst engaged on their labours as the black ones.]

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青布衫芝蔴豆　暴做媳婦實頌　難樓上量米大　奶奶河頭淘米　婆來張井裏挑　水小姑丈廚房　上廳小親娘聲　聲口口還要說　悟倫米送爹娘　爹娘莫勿算　窮十屬樓窗九　扇紅休臉哥哥　仝悟帶個信去　吃得悟媒酒孀　肚腸帶得悟媒　鐵做道場

I wear black clothes and carry a rough basket. The rôle of a new wife is very hard to fill. When I measure the rice in the loft my husband's mother is with me, and when I wash the rice in the river my mother-in-law is with me. When I draw water from the well my brother-in-law is with me, and when I cook in the kitchen my husband's younger sister is with me. But still they say that I steal rice and send it to my parents. My parents are not really so poor as all that! Nine out of ten of their upstairs lattices are painted red. So I beg my elder brother, who is losing face [by this action of my parents-in-law] to take a message to those who drank my marriage wine [viz., the match-makers] [saying may it] break their intestines [and asking them] to keep my marriage purchase-money to pay priests to recite canons [over their corpses.]

[Current in Yü hang, Hang-chou Fu, Chêkiang]

算命燒香哭女壻外孫鷄

Divination, burning incense, weeping. Sons-in-law, grandsons, hens.

[Current in Chêkiang. Indicates the chief "events" in the life of a woman in the olden days.]

住足小小持蛋鼠薯鼠大小大
渡持蛋鼠大大窩紅喫小老老
蛋不兩持蛋鼠雞薯紅老鼠鼠

Rats and mice! They both [come to eat] the sweet potatoes; when the sweet potatoes are all broken up they steal the eggs. The rats take the large eggs, the mice the small ones. Those they cannot hold in their two paws they roll away.

[Current in Fang Ling, Hupei. Refers to official oppression of the people.]

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搖	還	坐	窶	打	我	接	後	先
窩	在	家	屋	到	打	母	生	生
	睡	婆	內	家	鑼	親	哥	我

I was born first, my elder brother afterwards! At my mother's wedding I beat the gong! I beat it until I reached her apartment in my maternal grandmother's house. My grandmother was still in her cradle!

[From Huang Mei, Hupei. 窶 = 罐 母. In Kiangsu a kind of wooden bucket, shaped like a Chinese wash-basin, but double as deep, is used as a cradle. Straw is put in it for warmth, and by placing a brick under one corner it can be rocked. It is commonly called 窩 *wo*[1] or *ou*[3], a nest, and is generally used in winter; in summer it is changed for a rock-basket, so as to get the benefit of the cool air. The 搖窩 mentioned in the song is probably identical with this. Compare the following, also from Kiangsu: 爹十三娘十四哥哥十五我十六, My father is 13, my mother 14, my elder brother 15, and I am 16!]

南山頂上滾轂輪車有後娘就有後爹

On the top of South Hill the grain-cart rolls along [easily down.] If there is a step-mother, then there is a step-father.

[From the Chiao Tung district, Shantung. Sung by sons and daughters. Refers to natural sequence, cruelty practised by a step-mother is also practised by a step-father.]

小孩兒睡蓋狗被狗被有革蚤咬的小孩兒亂得叟

The child sleeps, covered by the dog-coverlet. The dog-coverlet has fleas, which bite the child to distraction.

[From Wên Têng and Jung Hsien, Shantung. Sung by mothers to lull their babies to sleep. A dog-coverlet is probably a bed-cover made of dog-skin. 革 should be 蓋. 得叟 = 抖擻, to rouse.]

剃新頭貼新對吃了沽支長一歲

Our heads freshly shaven, new couplets pasted [on the doors,] we eat meat dumplings, and are older by another year!

[Same districts. 沽支 = 餃子, eaten on New Year's eve.]

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糖瓜祀　竈年來　到閨女　要花小　子要爆　老婆子　要裹脚　老頭子　要氈帽

Sugared melon sacrificed to the God of the Stove—the New Year has arrived! The girls want flowers, the children fire-crackers, the old women want their feet [re-] bound, the old men felt caps.

[Same districts. The sacrifice named was performed on the 23rd day of the 12th moon (old style).]

窮神窮神汝與吾有何尋　黑忽忽的門媚爲什麼不　尋別人恐怕你入了吾的　門偏偏的就入了吾的門　自從你入了吾的門事事　把身跟步步不離身親戚　朋友瞧着眼看有了鬧事　也無人打問（此是告窮神歌）

東君東君貧怨自己貧何　從怨別人你一好吃二好　飲就是賜你一個金獅子　銀麒麟洩饒的母猪也不　你胡打尋（此是窮神答歌）

God of Poverty! God of Poverty! What grudge have you against me? [And mine is] such a dark door [too!] Why do you not go and seek someone else? I feared that you would enter my door, and you have really done so. Since you entered my door, you follow me in everything I do and dog my steps, not leaving me [for an instant.] My relatives and friends take no notice of me, and when I am in trouble no one comes to enquire [fearing to be implicated.] (This is the song accusing the God of Poverty).

Sir! Sir! Being poor, you complain of your poverty. [But] why blame others? For one thing, you are too fond of eating; for another, too fond of drinking. Even if you were to have bestowed on you a gold lion, a silver unicorn, and a money-producing sow, they would be insufficient to meet your extravagances. (This is the song conveying the God of Poverty's answer).

[From Kao I and Lin Ch'êng districts, Chihli.]

嫁人嫁人穿金戴銀嫁漢嫁漢穿衣吃飯

Re-marry! re-marry! and wear gold and silver! Marry a man! marry a man! and have clothes and food!

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[Current in Huang An, Hsiao Huai, and other districts in Hupei. 嫁 = 酉土, re-marriage of widows, which is still opposed to Chinese ideas of propriety.]

天棚魚缸石榴樹先生肥狗胖丫頭

Sun screens, large fish-jars, pomegranate trees; blind musicians, fat dogs, stout maid servants.

[These are signs of respectability in the Manchu families of Peking.]

弟	拜	盅	盅	來	三	桌	子	一	跑	小
兄	成	咱	我	你	提	叫	八	張	的	驢
	乾	倆	一	一	酒	小	碗	卓	快	兒

Little donkey, running so fast! A table; eight courses. Call Hsiao San to bring some wine. A cup for you, a cup for me! Thus we two become sworn brothers!

[Was popular about ten years ago in Chang Tê, Honan. At the present time friendships are still cemented over cups of wine at an "eight-dish dinner."]

一个和尚挑水喫兩个和尚扛水喫三个和尚水也沒得喫

One monk draws water to drink. Two monks carry water [in a jar] on a pole. Three monks can get no water to drink.

[Current in Wu Chiang, Kiangsu, 也 should be read as 吓, alas! 沒 read nasal *p'ing shêng*, in books commonly written 無. The allusion is to the pressure on the means of subsistence due to unemployment, whether of private individuals, priests, or officials.]

倒	薩	城	城	跳	撲	石	要	官	嚷	蟋
	儕	隍	隍	跳	跳	頭	翻	心	叫	蟀
	跌	菩	喻	到	一	撲	轉	裡	小	癟

When the cricket is crying plaintively the children want to catch it. They dig up a stone, which rolls down until it reaches the temple of the City God and knocks him over!

[From Wu Chiang, Kiangsu. 蟋蟀 in the North 蛐蛐兒; 嚷 is the chirp it makes; 小官 = 兒童; 撲撲 should be read 僕僕; 擠 should be 擠. The idea is that the children get poisoned by the beetles and the parents blame the god!]

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只 見 風 一 青 白 花 生 莪
見 花 起 日 有 葉 有 長 眉
莖 葉 沒 狂 朝 是 紅 莖 豆

The artemisia grows on its long stalk. Its flowers are white and red and its leaves green. One day a gale springs up; its flowers and leaves are torn off, and only its stalk remains.

[From Huang Pei in Hupei.]

萬 埋 要 青 婦 婆 搭 做 勻 天
載 留 金 髮 給 婆 三 人 地 上
 得 裝 弔 人 打 升 一 下 大
 美 無 死 家 還 公 升 小 星
 名 須 咱 剪 說 公 麥 婦 排
 千 銀 不 下 小 鬧 子 雞 不

The great stars in the sky are not evenly distributed. A young wife finds life hard. When she grinds a pint of wheat [and produces only] three pints [of grain] her father-in-law curses her and her mother-in-law beats her. Moreover, they say that she steals the meal to give to other people. So she cuts off her black hair and hangs herself with it. She does not desire to be adorned with gold nor buried with silver; but she will leave a good name for endless ages.

[Current in Huang Kang, Hupei.]

不 奶 把 升 回 三 牌 酒 材 爺 嫁 土 小
來 奶 柴 米 來 更 半 好 好 不 个 地 板
 過 祖 把 升 不 夜 打 吃 成 姑 台 橙

A small bench! An earthen terrace! I have married a good-for-nothing! He loves drinking and gambling, and does not return home till the third watch of the night. A pint or so of rice, a bundle or so of firewood—on these I cannot subsist.

[From Yünnan Fu.]

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水淹北京城蛤蟆上了坑

When the floods covered Peking city the clam-shells went up onto the *k'ang*.

[In the reign of Tao Kuang this ditty was sung in Peking. 淹 is used for 烟. At that time, the opium-pipe was introduced, and large numbers of people lay on their *k'angs* smoking opium. Of the large number of accessories many were made of the shells of bivalves; hence the allusion to clam-shells.]

(To be continued)

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THE CHARLES W. WASON LIBRARY ON CHINA

BY

Prof. KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

This remarkable and as yet too little known collection of books on China is the outgrowth of the wise use of wealth and of physical weakness. Mr. Charles W. Wason, a retired business man of Cleveland, Ohio, suffered for years from a progressively increasing invalidism that finally ended in death. During these years he became interested in collecting books on China and eventually made them his hobby. He had the top floor of his comfortable home on Euclid Avenue fitted up in Chinese style and in it accumulated one of the two or three most remarkable private libraries on China in America. The field was so large that he deliberately confined himself to books which had appeared in English, and while he occasionally allowed himself to be tempted afield into other languages his main object was to collect everything that had been written on China in his mother tongue. In this endeavour he was ably assisted by his wife and by Mr. Arthur Clark, the well-known publisher and book dealer of Cleveland. Always generous with his growing library, Mr. Wason hoped that his collection might permanently be kept intact, and, augmented from time to time, be easily accessible to scholars. To this end he bequeathed the collection to his *alma mater*, Cornell University, and added a fund whose income, it was believed, would be ample to complete the library and bring it down to date. Cornell has housed the library in the stacks of its general collections and is cataloging it.

The library is, as has been indicated, almost entirely made up of material in English, but it is planned gradually to add to it books in other languages, so that in time it should vie with the greatest collections. It has a few books in Chinese, by far the most important of which are four volumes of the famous *Yung Lo Ta Tien*, and there are some rare volumes in French and

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Spanish. In English, as has been indicated, it has attempted to be complete. It has, of course, the great majority of the books, valuable and otherwise, that have appeared on China through the years. Very little has, apparently, been overlooked. In addition it has some valuable manuscripts, as for example, the original papers of the Macartney Embassy. The library is rich in pamphlets, of which it has about 129 bound volumes. It is also unusually rich in papers, magazines and journals. It has complete files of the *Journals* of the Royal Asiatic Society, the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and the American Oriental Society, of the *China Review*, of the *Chinese Recorder* since 1897 and of the *Chinese Repository* from volume seven to the end. It has files of such papers as the *National Review*, *The Republican Advocate*, *The Peking Gazette*, *The North-China Herald* (since 1913), *The China Times* (in part), *The London and China Telegraph* (1867-1875), and *The Celestial Empire* (in part). It has files of the *China Maritime Customs Reports*, of the *Meteorological Register* of the Hongkong Observatory, of the *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance with China*, and of the United States Consular reports for China. The library also contains a partial collection of the periodicals and reports of Missionary Societies that are at work in China, although in these it is far from complete. The collection is especially noteworthy for the trouble that has been taken to get a file of the articles that have appeared on China in American and British magazines. Files of the standard representatives of this class have been bought, carefully gone over, the articles that deal with China carefully extracted and bound in indexed volumes and so made accessible in convenient form. There have been treated in this way *The Quarterly Review* (1809-1912), *The Nineteenth Century* (1877-1915), *The Illustrated London News* (1842-1891), *The Calcutta Review* (1844-1877), *Blackwood's Magazine* (1817-1913), *Littell's Living Age* (1844-1909), *The Atlantic Monthly* (1859-1916), *The Outlook* (1877-1915), *The Forum*, *The Edinburgh Review*, *Hunt's Merchant Magazine*, *the Empire Review*, and the *San Francisco Argonaut* (1877-1915).

There are libraries in New Haven which taken together are better rounded and in many respects more nearly complete than is the Wason collection, but aside from these the writer is not aware that anywhere else in the United States is there so ample a collection for studying such Chinese problems as are treated in English. The collection should be known by all who are attempting to study China from the scholarly standpoint, and as it is augmented it should increasingly become a Mecca for sinologues the world over.

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THE LUNAR ZODIAC

BY

LEOPOLD DE SAUSSURE.

The mysterious lunar zodiac which, in remote antiquity, spread over the Asiatic continent from one end to the other, is of great importance for the problem of the Chinese origins.

1° This zodiac is the only fact, actually certain, showing ancient communications between Eastern and Western Asia.

2° It gave birth to the system of the five celestial palaces and to the equatorial method which characterizes the Chinese astronomy.

3° It allows us to fix the date of the origins of Chinese civilization as between the 27th and the 24th centuries B.C., by the position of the pole (天乙), of the solstices (虛 and 星) and of the equinoxes (昴 and 房) at the centre of these five palaces which have maintained their position through the whole of Chinese history.

4° This unitary and symmetrical system of celestial palaces is the basis of the Chinese cosmogony, philosophy and calendar. It is the criterion of the development of this early civilization. * For these reasons the question of the lunar zodiac, which has been transformed since the discovery of the principle of symmetry, must continue to retain the attention of sinologists.

At the very beginning of the Sanskrit studies the Indianists discovered in the Vedic books the existence of stellar divisions connected with the lunar motion and consecrated by religious

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*Le système astronomique des Chinois. (Probsthain & Co., London).

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belief. Those divisions, very unequal between themselves, are called *nakshatra*. They are still used, and Colebrooke in 1807, helped by Hindu pundits, identified very exactly the fundamental stars which mark their limits. It was very soon recognized that this system had a community of origin with the 28 Chinese *siu* (宿 *hsü*) made known in Europe through the works of P. Gaubil in the 18th century.

The same community of origin is admitted with the 27 Arabic *menazil*, which themselves seem to come out of a Chaldean asterisms system of which only fragments have been discovered.

History of the Discussion.—The German chronologist Ideler having in 1839 applied to the Chinese *siu* 宿 the term "lunar stations," J. B. Biot answered in the *Journal des Savants* stating that even from the remotest antiquity Chinese astronomy was based on the pole and meridian; that the 28 *siu* are equatorial divisions, without any special connection with the moon, and that they have been chosen about the 24th century B.C. on account of their correspondence with the passage at the meridian of the principal circumpolars, which explains the great inequality of these divisions. The evidence of this fact created in Biot's mind the absolute certainty that the Hindu *nakshatra* could only be a corruption of the Chinese *siu*, imported into India—a theory he maintained up to his death in 1862.

Ten years later Whitney, the American Indianist, opposed this opinion in his study called: *Lunar Zodiac* and he thought fit to open a counter-attack; he made fun of Biot's theory of the circumpolar determination of the Chinese *siu* and maintained inversely that the latter were a mere corruption of the Hindu *nakshatra* imported into China at a comparatively recent date.

Nobody for forty years had so far answered Whitney and the sinologists were inclined to admit his ideas, when I was led by unexpected circumstances to contest their views on the origin of the Chinese *siu* and to start anew the study of ancient astronomy.

After having supported the exactitude of Biot's theory concerning the equatorial nature of the Chinese method, I could prove that he was mistaken in believing that the correspondence between the *siu* and the circumpolars had been the aim sought by the ancient astronomers. Their intention was to obtain the exact diametrical opposition of the *siu*; to arrive at this result they had to make use of the alignment A P and P A (P being the pole and A a circumpolar) and to extend this line towards the opposed equatorial regions which are not visible simultaneously.

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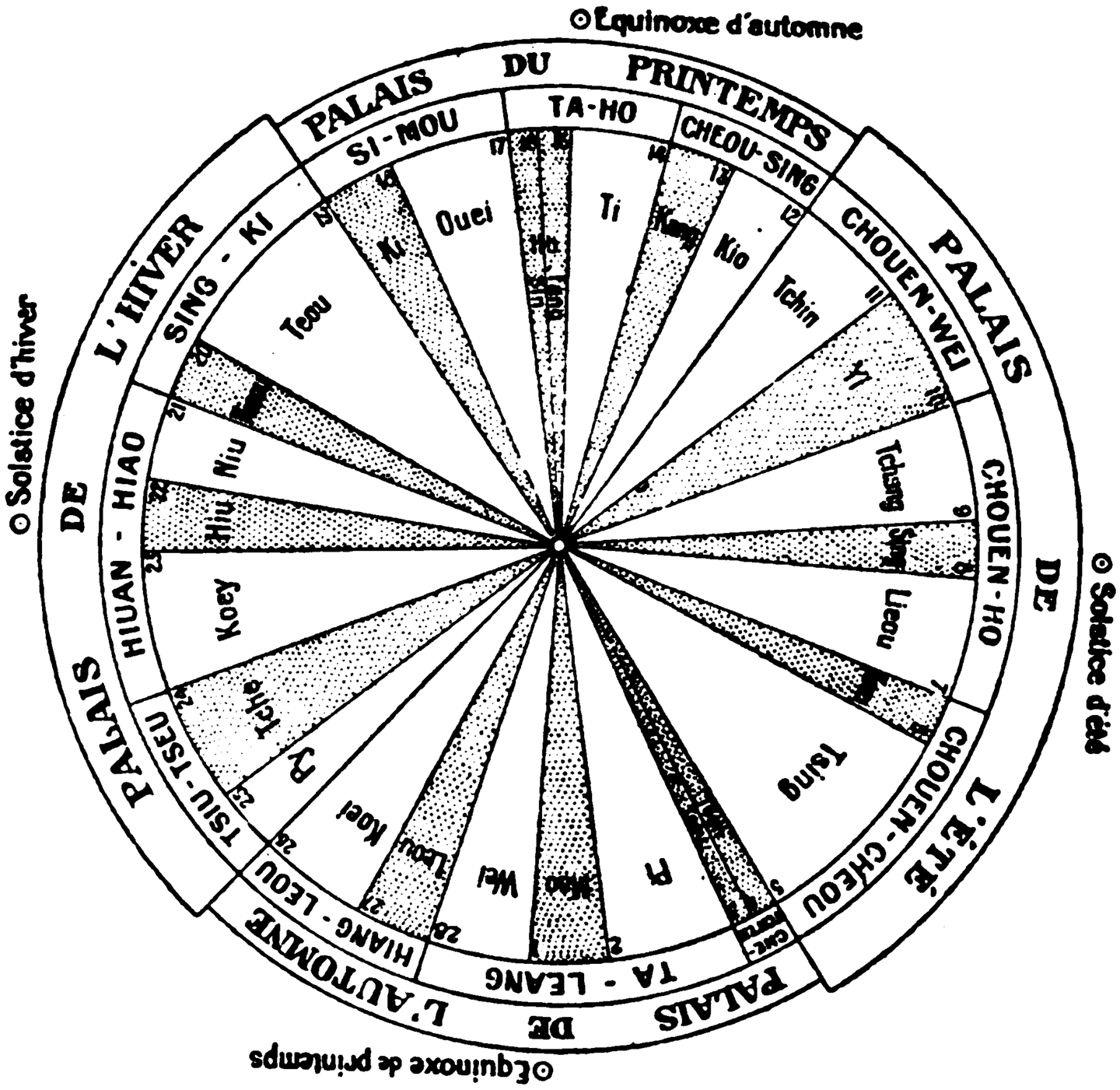

FIG. 1.—PROJECTION OF THE CHINESE DIVISIONS ON THE EQUATOR OF THE 24TH CENTURY B.C.

By this process they arrived at the most admirable diametrical symmetry which I pointed out in the diagram (Fig. 1) published in 1907. This document has not only created a new fact in what concerns the origin of the Chinese astronomic system; but it opens new vistas in the discussion which has lasted over a century on the subject of the lunar zodiac; for it explains the primitive purpose of this institution, and thus allows us to establish its theory.

Full Moon's Sidereal Place.—When the moon is full she is exactly diametrically opposite the sun. As the sun comes back every year, in the same month, into the same constellation (then invisible) it follows that the "full" happens every year in the same month, in the opposite constellation. Supposing the rites, as is the case in some Vedic texts, prescribe the observance of certain sacrifices when the moon's full takes place in a said constellation, it follows that the annual date of that ceremony is approximately fixed.

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The observation of the moon's "full" has thus a calendaric value and it establishes a process that can be called *primitive*, since it does not necessitate the use of any artificial point of reference, and the precision of its result is much superior to that which might proceed from the observation of the stars' rising.

These risings vary with the same slowness as the annual course of the sun, namely, one degree per day. Besides, the mists of the horizon and the variations in the atmospherical state seldom allow us to distinguish the stars when their height is small, so that it is often difficult to fix—within ten days—the one whose (heliac) rising immediately precedes dawn, or the one whose (acronychal) rising has taken place opposite the setting sun.

Such is not the case when observing the sidereal place of the moon if one knows exactly the time of her "full." In observing the aspect of the disc one could no doubt commit a great error: for it is impossible at first sight to discern the "full" within a day. But some ancient Chinese traditions show us they could appreciate the exact "full" within a quarter of a day, a decided proof that they made use, for this determination, of the simultaneousness of the moon's rising with the sunset.

The moon's synodical revolution lasting 29.5 days her rising loses every day ($\frac{24 \text{ hours}}{29.5} = 49\text{m.}$) 49m. (on an average). It is therefore very easy in level countries to determine the exact time of luni-solar opposition by comparing the interval between the sun's setting and the moon's rising. In the early centres of civilization where, from the furthest antiquity, special officials were entrusted with the care of observing the sky, the custom was to estimate the displacement of the moon amidst the stars during one night (about ten times its width). After comparing the position of both moon and sun at the horizon, by interpolating at sight one could designate with great precision the sidereal place of the moon's "full."

During the primitive period, when the year's course was still only indicated by the sidereal points of reference, this process of observation permitted the fixing of an annual date and the rectifying of the lunar year. It suggested the opportunity of adding an intercalary month. In China it was *Kioh* 角 which served this end. That star, of the first magnitude, marked in the firmament the entrance of the Spring Palace (No. 12, Fig. 1.) The full moon which showed to the right of *Kioh* was the twelfth (or thirteenth) of the year; and the one which showed to the left of *Kioh* was the first of the new year.

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Sidereal Marks and Tropic Marks.—The effective use of sidereal marks is only in the primitive period, when one had not yet precisely ascertained the tropic phasis and when it had not yet been thought of determining the date of the solstice by the maximum shadow of a vertical rod (gnomon). This process, very simple and correct, inaugurates a new period; that of solar and tropic astronomy, clearly mentioned in China as early as the 24th century B.C. by the *Yao tien* text, confirmed by the immutable system of sidereal seasons (Fig. 1) which in spite of the precession has maintained through forty centuries of history, the position of the equinoxes and solstices mentioned in the said text. The lunar zodiac thus loses its calendaric value but it still retains, none the less, its traditional astrological and religious prestige. In India, the sacred books prescribe certain sacrifices when the moon's "full" takes place is a said constellation. In China the astronomical reform which marked the advent of tropic astronomy consecrated to the sun the Solstitial Palaces where this aster dwells in winter and in summer (Fig. 1), but it reserved for the moon the Equinoctial Palaces in which the sidero-lunar ante-historical astrology has been maintained up to modern times, so that the relation between the different Chinese constellations and the course of the agricultural and ritual year is established in a discontinuous manner: sometimes by conjunction (in the solar Palaces), sometimes by opposition (in the lunar Palaces); the *Spring Palace* being the one in which the sun dwells during the autumn and the *Autumn Palace* the one in which the sun dwells in the spring.*

The Diametric Symmetry.—Apart from the astrological traditionalism the accession of the solar astronomy has found for the lunar zodiac a scientific use; it was, since then, used to determine the sidereal point (invisible) of the sun at different times of the year, thanks to a symmetrical repartition of the lunar stations.

During the sidero-lunar primitive period it was deemed sufficient to ascertain whether the "full" took place in a certain asterism to determine the annual date and it was useless, for attaining this end, to guess in which opposed asterism the sun would be at the same time. But the idea of regularizing the choice

*This introversion has puzzled many authors (Ideler, Chalmers, Schlegel, Barth, etc.) My explanation, suggested by comparing the Hindu and Chinese traditions, is confirmed by texts: the *Chow li* specifies this repartition of the seasons between sun and moon: "At the winter and summer solstices the *sun*, at the spring and autumn equinoxes the *moon*, serve to regulate the four seasons. 冬夏致日，春秋致月，以辨四時之敘."

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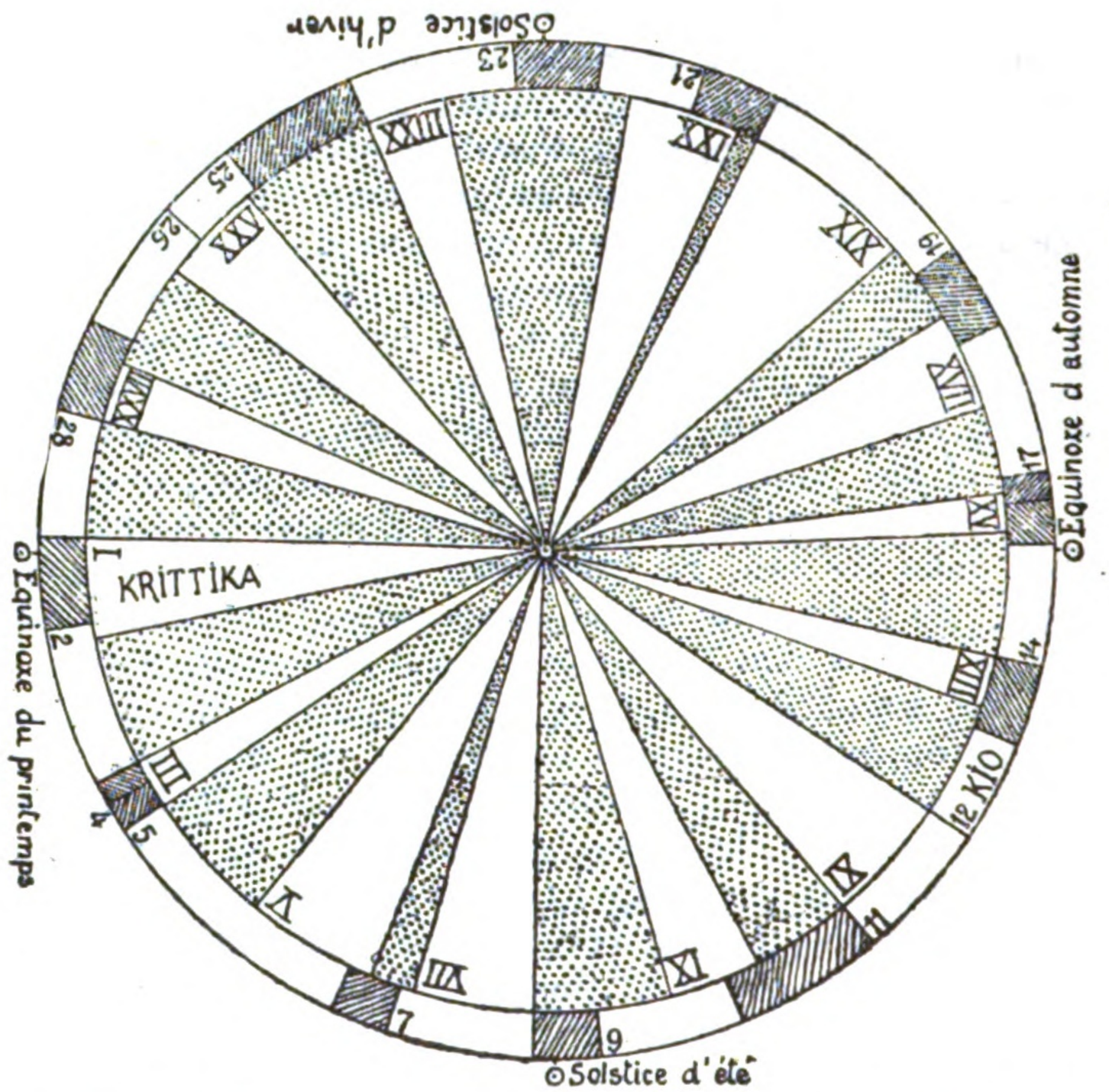

FIG. 2.—PROJECTION OF THE *NAKSHUTRA* (ROMAN NUMBERS) AND OF THE *SIU* (ARABIC NUMBERS) ON THE EQUATOR OF THE 24TH CENTURY B.C.

of the lunar stations by arranging them in diametrical couples soon imposed itself. It began to be in use before the diffusion of the lunar zodiac across Asia, seeing that the Hindu system (Fig. 2) is clearly symmetrical, though less perfect than the Chinese zodiac.

The choosing of opposed stars proved a very difficult problem to solve, for such stars are not observable at the same time. But the circumpolar region being always visible, it was possible during various periods of the year, to observe the passing at the superior and inferior meridian of a circumpolar star A and to choose in the equatorial zone, two stars A and A' passing the meridian at the same time with it, and therefore opposed in equatorial longitude. This is a process similar to the one used by engineers when wanting to obtain the exact opposite directions between the two priming points of a tunnel : they place on the top of the mountain land-marks which they extend on both slopes : the circumpolar region, ever visible, is the top of the sky, and allows us to obtain a prolonged alignment on the two opposite slopes. Such

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is manifestly the process employed by the lunar zodiac's creators to establish its diametric symmetry. * This method necessarily only made use of the smallest stars; because the stars of the nrst, second and third magnitude are too scarce for two to be found in opposition to one another, except on very extraordinary occasions. Therefore one can notice that the most exact couples are made up of small stars evidently chosen with a symmetrical purpose; whilst the most inexact couples are those in which some stars have been kept with which are associated the myths and traditions of the primitive period (*Kioh* 角, *Sin* 心 and *Tsan* 參).

Equatorial Characteristics of the Lunar Zodiac.—The equatorial process of determining the symmetrical couples does not prevent one choosing the stars on the ecliptic. But, as the full moon outshines by her brightness the adjoining stars, there is no interest in seeking signal points on its very trajectory; it was preferable to determine her position according to the stars passing the meridian at the same time. When one compares the levelling points of the Hindu zodiac with those, more perfect, of the Chinese zodiac, one sees that, for the reasons before mentioned, the different stellar divisions have been more and more considered as spindles delimited by equatorial stars, and comparable to the quarters of an orange.

The distinctly equatorial characteristic of the Chinese astronomy already shown by Gaubil and Biot is thus explained. This equatorial process enlarged itself from Chinese astronomy to Chinese cosmogony, whose fundamental concept of the terrestrial universe as well as the celestial one, is an immutable centre surrounded by four peripheral regions. †

*See, in the *Journal Asiatique* of July, 1919 my article on the symmetry of the lunar zodiac, with diagrams showing that this equatorial symmetry gets deformed when projected on the ecliptic.

†See the *T'oung pao*, 1921, p. 114.

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A T'ANG MANUSCRIPT OF THE *SOU SHÊN CHI*

BY

LIONEL GILES

(*Continued*)

So far, we have been concerned only with the edition of the SSC in 20 *chüan*. But, as Mr. Yetts has pointed out, there is another edition in 8 *chüan* * which is included in the well-known collection of reprints 漢魏叢書 *Han wei ts'ung shu*, and has also been printed separately. It is not mentioned in the *Ssŭ K'ü ch'üan shu tsung mu*, nor in any other bibliography with which I am acquainted ; yet an examination of its contents will show that it is not by any means a mere abridgment of the longer work. It contains 40 tales, as opposed to 460 in SSC (A), but only seven † appear to be common to both collections ; and of these, only three are practically identical in wording. Two are considerably abbreviated in SSC (A), one is told in somewhat different language, and in one, only the outline of the story is similar. Thus, the two "editions" are really to be regarded as two distinct works. In general, it may be said that the anecdotes in SSC (A) are written more concisely and with a trifle more of the polish that renders them acceptable to the fastidious scholar. They are shorter, on the average, than those in SSC (B), and many of them are but desultory notes of the baldest description.

Although SSC (A) cannot claim to be Yü Pao's original work, there is sufficient evidence to show that it must be of respectable antiquity—perhaps pre-T'ang. Can we say the same of SSC (B)? Information on the subject is sadly to seek, but a few crumbs may

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* For the sake of brevity, we will call this edition SSC (B), and the other SSC (A).

† These are : SSC (B), ch. I, Nos. 1 and 3 ; II, 3 : III, 2 and 3 ; V, 4 and 5. They correspond, respectively, to SSC (A), III, 6 ; XVI, 20 ; XV, 1 ; XX, 4 ; XIX, 8 ; XI, 18 ; XX, 8.

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be extracted from the following editorial note affixed to the text in *Han wei ts'ung shu*: "*Sou shên chi* by Kan Pao, in 8 *chüan*. The Sui and T'ang bibliographies all say '30 *chüan*'; but in Pao's biography in the *Chin shu* . . . he is said to have compiled a book which he called *Sou shên chi*, in 20 chüan . . . It appears, then, that this book was really in 20 *chüan*, and the idea that it had 30 *chüan* is a mistake.* In the present collection of reprints† only 8 *chüan* are preserved, but this edition is certainly defective. 毛 [晉] Mao [Chin] in his 津逮秘書 *Ching tai pi shu* ‡ has 20 chüan: this must be a fuller edition, though even that cannot be the original work. For in the original work, though it dealt collectively with matters relating to spirits, each tale must have belonged to some particular section or chapter (篇). For example, the 水經注 *Shui ching chu*, quoting the story of 張公童 Chang Kung-chih, § states that it comes from Kan Pao's chapter entitled 感應 "Spiritual Response"; ¶ and 荆楚歲時記 *Ching ch'u sui shih chi*, again, quotes from Kan Pao's

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* My edition of the *Chin shu* has '30 *chüan*,' but there may be a variant reading.

† The account of the *Han wei ts'ung shu* given by Wylie ("Notes," 2nd edition, pp. 257-8) needs some revision. 程榮 Ch'êng Jung of 新安 Hsin-an printed 37 works, forming the nucleus of the collection, in the Ming dynasty. These were increased to 76 by 何允中 Ho Yün-chung of 武林 Wu-lin [Hangchow], and edited with a preface, dated January 1593, by 屠隆 T'u Lung. (In the Ming history, ch. 98, f. 13, T'u Lung is named as the actual compiler). Very soon after, a fresh edition was published, which was intended to comprise 100 works, though only 76 actually appeared. Wylie speaks of the new editor as 'Kwo Ts'ang,' but this is really the name of his native place (括蒼 Kua-ts'ang) in Chekiang, his own name being 何鐣 Ho T'ang. After the lapse of 200 years, very few copies of this edition still remained, and 王謨 Wang Mo undertook to reprint the collection once more in 1792. Having no means of identifying the works previously omitted, he took ten, attributed to authors of the Han and Wei dynasties, from the 唐宋叢書 *T'ang sung ts'ung shu*, and thus brought the total up to 86. There seems no reason to believe than an edition containing the 96 works enumerated in 彙刻書目合編 *Hui k'o shu mu ho pien* (1799 A.D.) ever saw the light. But in any case, since no SSC is included in *T'ang sung ts'ung shu*, it follows that SSC (B) must have appeared in the 1593 edition of *Han wei ts'ung shu*.

‡ An extensive collection of reprints in 15 parts. SSC (A) is the first work in the 11th part.

§ See *Shui ching chu*, ch. 39 *ad fin.* The date of this commentary is about 500 A.D. The story is told in slightly abbreviated form, but the phraseology is very similar to that of SSC (A), IV, 8.

¶ The actual text is, 干寶書之於感應焉, which is less decisive, as the crucial word 撰 is wanting.

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變化篇 "Chapter on Evolution." * Both of these must have been titles of chapters in the original work. But in Mao's edition there is no sign of such an arrangement, and indeed, no sort of order or sequence is observed from beginning to end; this text, then, can only be regarded as 'complete' in comparison with the one given in the *ts'ung shu*. Now, as I have only had access to the latter in preparing this work for the press, and have not been able to collate and rectify it according to Mao's edition, † only the ordinary text has been published in these pages; and if personages of the Later Wei dynasty are mentioned therein, or events belonging to the *Yüan-chia* period of the Sung [424-454] or the *Yung-ming* period of the Ch'i dynasty [483-494], or names of 州 *chou* peculiar to the T'ang, the intelligent reader will know how to discriminate, so that no further reference to such anachronisms is necessary. Penned by 王謨 Wang Mo of the 汝 Ju river district."

Wang Mo's reference to SSC (B) as "the ordinary text" (其凡) seems to point to its having a long tradition behind it; but, apart from the fact that it was incorporated in *Han wei ts'ung shu* in 1593, its early history remains as obscure as ever. Moreover, its title to antiquity is far more dubious than that of SSC (A), in that none of the stories which it contains appears to be quoted in *T'ai p'ing kuang chi* or other early collections. This, though but negative evidence, certainly gives ground for suspicion, and one would be warranted, perhaps, in dismissing it as a comparatively late forgery, were it not for the discovery of the British Museum manuscript, to which it is now time for us to return. This is contained in a roll of rather thin whitish paper just under 10-ft. long and about 11⅛-in. wide. When found in the cave-library at Tunhuang, it was in a somewhat damaged condition, but it has now been repaired and mounted on stiff paper. The handwriting, as may be seen from the specimen I have had

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* The text of the *Sui shih chi* has 論, not 篇. The passage, which occurs in the commentary by 杜公瞻 Tu Kung-chan of the Sui dynasty, runs thus: 按干寶變化論云. 朽稻爲蟹. 朽麥爲蛾蝶 (It is the cricket that spoils the rice, and the butterfly grub that spoils the wheat). It is evidently a reminiscence of SSC (A) XII, 1: 朽黍之爲蟭也. 稻之爲蝚也. 麥之爲蝴蝶也. "It is the cricket that spoils the sorghum (?), the weevil that spoils the rice, the butterfly grub that spoils the wheat." The whole paragraph is a dissertation on the metamorphoses of insects which by itself might very well be called a 論. This piece of evidence, then, is even less conclusive than the other; and, on the whole, I can see very little ground for assuming that Yü Pao's SSC was arranged in chapters with different headings.

† The writer of these words evidently had no idea how little matter the two collections have in common.

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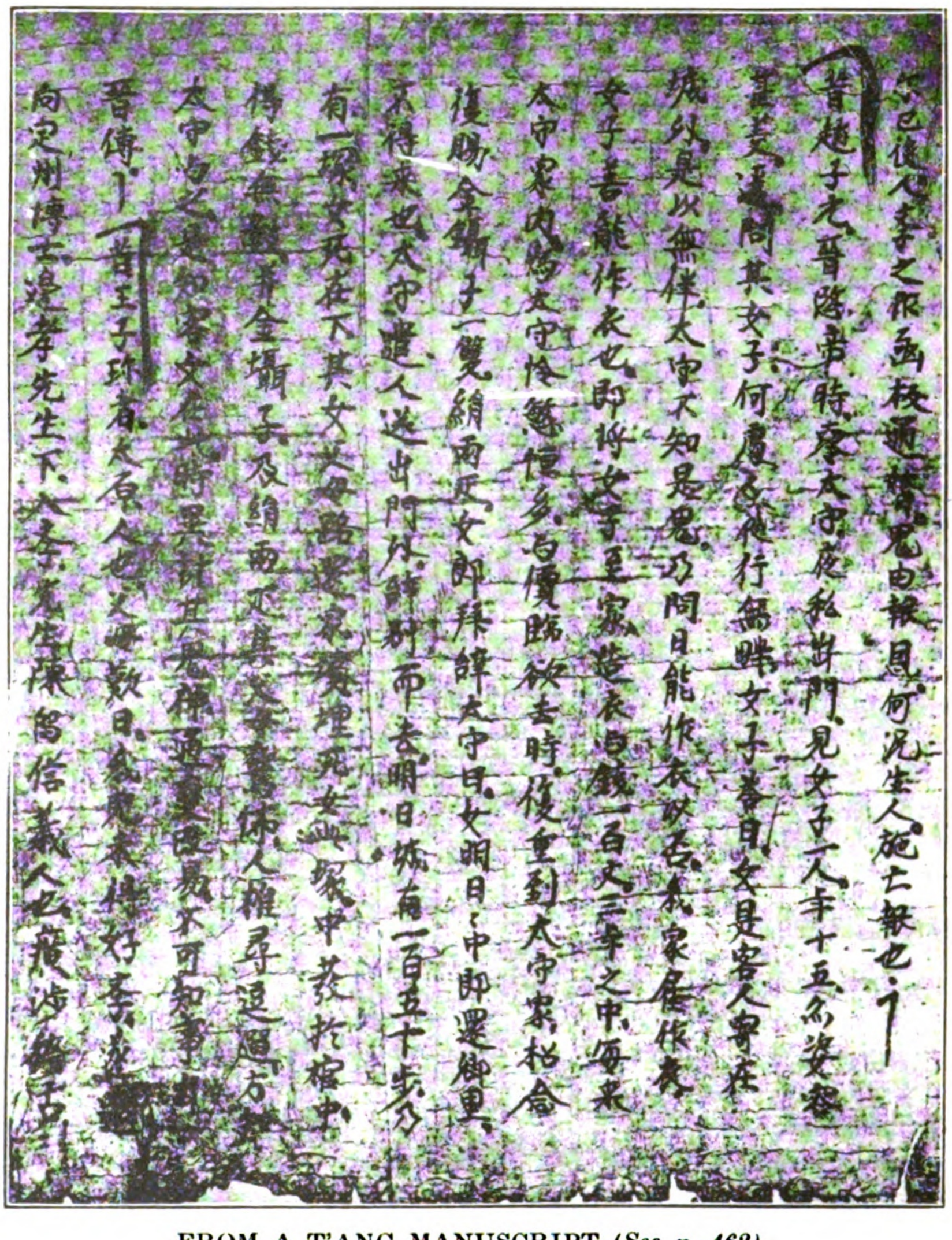

FROM A T'ANG MANUSCRIPT (*See p. 462*).

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photographed, is fairly clear and neat, though of no particular merit in a calligraphic sense. Judging by the numerous varieties of paper and handwriting that have passed through my hands in the process of cataloguing, I should be inclined to assign the MS. to the latter half of the 9th century, that is, near the close of the T'ang dynasty. It is almost certainly not later than this, but may be earlier. In the roll as we have it there are nine complete tales and the beginning of a tenth; the end portion is torn away, and it is impossible to say how much is missing. There are comparatively few complete rolls in the Stein collection, and they vary in length according to the thickness of the paper used. An average roll of thin paper may run to 30 or 40-ft., and I have measured one of no less than 76-ft., so it is possible that only a third or even a quarter of the present roll remains to us. Punctuation (not always correct) has been added throughout in red ink, and the commencement of each tale is also marked in red. Having noted that the title is given as 搜神記一卷 "*Sou shên chi* in one *chüan*," * we may proceed to an analysis of the contents.

(1). The first tale in the roll is also the first in *chüan* 1 of SSC (B), and it also occurs in SSC (A), where it is the sixth tale of ch. 3. As the story is a good one, and I do not think it has been translated before, I will give it here :—

管輅 Kuan Lu† was travelling to 平原 P'ing-yüan in 南陽 Nan-yang (his native place) when he saw a youth cutting wheat in a field. He heaved a deep sigh as he passed by, which made the youth inquire the cause of his melancholy.—"What is your name?" asked Kuan Lu. On being told that it was 趙顏 Chao Yen, he said: "It only made me sad to think that your span of years would not exceed twenty." When pressed further, he added: "Our destinies are controlled by Heaven, and I can do nothing to save you." The youth ran home and told his father, and together they caught up Kuan Lu before he had gone far along the road. In response to their entreaties that he would rescue the son from such an untimely fate, Kuan Lu said: "His destiny is not in my hands, but I will do my best for you. Go home and prepare a flagon of wine and a joint of venison, then await my arrival."—They followed these instructions, and on the morrow Kuan Lu appeared in due course.—"South of the spot," he said, "where you were cutting wheat yesterday, there is a large mulberry tree. Under that tree you will find two men playing a

* Not "1st chüan," which would be 第一卷 or 卷之一.

† T. 公明. Lived A.D. 209-256. There is a long account of this noted seer and astrologer in *San kuo chih*, ch. 29, ff. 8-17.

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game of *wei-ch'i*.* Go up to them, and place these viands before them, replenishing their cups as soon as they are emptied. If they question you, be careful not to say a word, but only bow. This perchance may save you. I will remain here until you return."—Chao Yen did as he was bid : he found the two men playing *wei-ch'i*, and so absorbed were they in the game that they finished the wine and the venison without noticing him. At last the game came to an end, and the man who was sitting on the north side raised his head. When he saw Chao Yen waiting on them, he cried out in anger: "What do you mean by coming here?" The youth, however, only bowed and made no reply. Thereupon the man on the south side said to his companion : "I am afraid we must look rather silly. Here we have been drinking all this man's wine, and eating up his venison. Don't you think we should show him some gratitude ? "—"That is all very well," replied the other ; " but the warrant is already made out, and cannot be altered now."—"May I have a look at it ? " said the first man ; and, taking the document, he saw that the length of life therein allotted to Chao Yen was some 19 years. "Why, there is no difficulty here," he cried ; "the figures only need transposing." And, making a flick with his pen, he said to the youth : "We hereby guarantee that you will live until the age of 91." † —At these words, Chao Yen was unable to contain himself for joy. Making a low obeisance, he hurried home, where Kuan Lu congratulated him on the welcome addition to his years.— "The man sitting on the south side," he said, "was the spirit of the Southern Dipper, ‡ and the man on the north, the spirit of the Northern Dipper. § They preside over birth and death respectively. Every person born into the world passes from the domain of the former into that of the latter, and all prayers for longevity have accordingly to be submitted to the spirit of the Northern Dipper."—The grateful parent wished to load Kuan Lu with rich presents, but the latter refused to take anything.

In translating the above, I have followed the text of SSC (B) rather than that of the MS., which is slightly mutilated here. The style of the latter is a little more homely and diffuse,¶ while that

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* The "surrounding game," played with black and white pips on a chequer-board.

† This is a slight modification of the original necessary in translation. The Chinese numbers, of course, are 十九 (19) and 九十 (90) respectively.

‡ The 8th of the 28 Stellar Mansions (part of Sagittarius), consisting of six stars.

§ Ursa Major

¶ This is true of all the stories in the roll. Each begins with 昔 "Once upon a time."

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of SSC (A) is more concise ; but the general similarity in phrasing leaves no room to doubt that all three versions are traceable to the same source. The boy's name, which is given as 趙顏子 Chao Yen-tzŭ in the MS., appears, curiously enough, as 顏超 Yen Ch'ao in SSC (A), just as if the writer, in one case or the other, had been guided only by a vague recollection of the *sound*. At the end of the tale in the MS., it is interesting to find the note : 事出異勿 [i.e., 物] 志 "The story is taken from the *I wu chih* (Record of Strange Things)." I do not know if this work is still extant, but I have found two very short extracts from it in *T'ai p'ing kuang chi*, ch. 464, f. 5 v°, and ch. 466, f. 3 v°.

(2) The second tale is the same as SSC (B), 1, 6. It celebrates the acumen of a famous physician, 秦緩 Huan of the Ch'in State, and in the MS. is said to be taken from the 史記 *Shih chi* ; in reality it is derived not from that work but from the *Tso Chuan*, 10th year of 成公, §5. Here again we have an instructive gradation of style—the almost forbidding terseness of the Commentary contrasting with the easy elegance of SSC (B) and the rather more familiar style of the MS. Yet it must not be imagined that even the latter approaches at all closely to the language of common speech.

(3) The third tale— SSC (B), 1, 5—relates an example of foreknowledge on the part of one 劉安 Liu An (not to be confused with his namesake the Prince of Huai-nan).

(4) This tells of the extraordinary fortune that befel 辛道度 Hsin Tao-tu in consequence of his encounter with the spirit of a dead princess. Cf. SSC (A), XVI, 20, and SSC (B), I, 3.

(5) This is the story of a murder revealed in a dream, which I have failed to find in either edition of the SSC. According to a note at the end, it is taken from 南妖皇記 *Nan yao huang chi*, which does not appear in the bibliographical list of the *T'ai p'ing kuang chi*, and is doubtless a lost work.

(6) The sixth tale is the same as SSC (B), III, 1, and will be found, told at much greater length, in 東周列國志 *Tung chou lieh kuo chih*, chapter 1. It describes the revenge taken by the Minister 杜伯 Tu Po, who was unjustly put to death by 宣王 Hsüan Wang of the Chou dynasty.

(7) This, again, appears in neither edition of the SSC. It is a queer tale, worth reproducing in condensed form :—

A farmer named 侯雙 Hou Shuang was frequently disturbed, while at work in his fields, by the wailing sound of a human voice. This continued for over two months, until at last he discovered

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in the corner of a field the skeleton of a man protruding from the soil, with blades of corn growing out of the eye-sockets. He hastened to give it decent burial, and after that the wailing ceased. After the harvest, he was returning home one evening when he perceived the figure of a man closely dogging his footsteps. Somewhat surprised, he accosted the stranger and asked who he was.—"I am a disembodied spirit," replied the latter.—"The ways of the living and the dead lie apart," said Hou Shuang; "Why are you following me thus?"—"Alas," said the spirit, "I have received a great kindness at your hands, and have no worldly goods with which to repay you. But I hear that you are not yet married, and I think I can help you to a wife." He then named a certain day, and told Hou Shuang to make all the usual preparations for a wedding. When the day came, the bridegroom's family was much puzzled at the non-appearance of the bride; but during the afternoon a heavy black rain-cloud drifted up over the house, shrouding everything in darkness. Hou Shuang went up into the bridal chamber, and there he found a damsel of about 18 or 19, with all her trousseau complete!—"Who are you, Sir," she said, "that intrude here?" Hou Shuang retorted: "What are *you* doing in my room?" Then the young lady told him that she was the daughter of the Governor of Liao-hsi [in Chihli], and that she was going to be married to the Governor of Liaotung. "This morning," she said, "I had just reached my future husband's threshold when a great whirlwind sprang up. I got out of my chair to see better, and was whisked back to my own room. This is my house: why do you dispute its possession with me?"—"Liaotung is 5,000 *li* away from here," said Hou Shuang. "If you don't believe me, please go outside and look round."—The upshot was that the girl, finding herself the victim of a miracle, was married to Hou Shuang, and they lived happily ever after.—The story concludes with the moral reflection: "If even a disembodied spirit can make such requital for kindness, how much more should living men show their gratitude to the departed (by offering sacrifices)."

(8) The eighth tale, which I have selected for photographing because the whole of it could be got on to one plate, is about the ghost of a girl who masqueraded for three years as a living person. Cf. SSC (B), I, 2. It is said to come from the 晉傳 *Chin chuan*, whatever that may be. I cannot find it in the 列傳 of the *Chin shu*.

(9) The ninth, a much longer tale than any of the others, occurs in SSC (B), II, 1. It is an account of the service rendered to 王子珍 Wang Tzŭ-chên by a friendly ghost, and is said to

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be taken from the 幽名錄 *Yu ming lu* (the second character is a mistake for 明). This work, which is frequently quoted in *T'ai p'ing kuang chi*—sometimes as 幽冥錄—was written by 劉義慶 Liu I-ch'ing of the Liu Sung dynasty (420-479), author of the better-known 世說新語 *Shih shuo hsin yü*. In the *Sui chih* it is said to comprise 20 *chüan*, in the *T'ang chih*, 30 *chüan*. It does not appear at all in the *Sung chih*, but is mentioned in the 汲古閣祕本書目 *Chi ku ko pi pên shu mu* without indication as to the number of *chüan*. The present text was reprinted in 1814 from an old and defective MS. by 黃丕烈 Huang P'ei-lieh, and was afterwards included, in an amended form, in 琳琅祕室叢書 *Lin lang pi Shih ts'ung shu*, where it is the fifth work of pt. III. There are 160 anecdotes in the collection, but I cannot find the story of Wang Tzŭ-chên among them. No. 122 is the story of Wu Mêng and Yü Pao's brother (here called Kan Ch'ing) which I have already cited from another source.

(10) Of the 10th and last tale, only a short fragment remains, but it does not seem to occur in SSC. It deals with one 劉淵 Líu Yüan, whom one is tempted to identify with the first sovereign of the illegitimate State of Han (+ A.D. 310), though beyond the name itself there is nothing to support the assumption.

It appears from the above analysis that there is a very remarkable correspondence between the MS. and the earlier portion of SSC (B), no fewer than seven tales out of the ten occurring amongst the first eleven tales of the latter, whereas only two of these are to be found amongst the whole 460 of SSC (A). The remaining three are not in either edition. * The conclusion seems to be that SSC (B) must be derived from a recension which existed at least as early as the T'ang dynasty. If we attempt, however, to carry our specula ions a step further, it must be confessed that we find ourselves still very much in the dark, and only a statement of probabilities can be made.

---

* Here is a comparative table :—

Tale	SSC (B)	SSC (A)	MS.
Kuan Lu	I, 1	III, 6	1
Chao Tzŭ-yüan	I, 2	—	8
Hsin Tao-tu...	I, 3	XVI, 20	4
Pien Ch'iao	I, 4	—	—
Liu An	I, 5	—	3
Ch'in Huan	I, 6	—	2
Wei Ying	I, 7	—	—
Wang Tzŭ-chên	II, 1	—	9
Hsia Hsiao-chih	II, 2	—	—
Wang Tao-p'ing	II, 3	XV, 1	—
Tu Po	III, 1	—	6

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(1) We know that SSC (A) must have existed, in something like its present form, in A.D. 977, when the *T'ai p'ing kuang chi* was compiled. If so, it was probably identical with the work in 30 *chüan* mentioned in the *T'ang chih*. But this, again, is unlikely to have been a different work from the SSC in 30 *chüan* of the *Sui chih*. Hence there is every reason to suppose that our SSC (A) was put together in the second half of the 6th century. No doubt it incorporates much of the substance, if not of the actual language, of Yü Pao's original work.

(2) SSC (B) was not a forgery, I imagine, in the ordinary sense, that is, it was never meant to be passed off as the original *Sou shên chi*, but was simply a selection of some of the longer tales. If Yü Pao's work was lost in the 5th century, SSC (B) may represent a first attempt to recover some of the material from other books of marvels. Afterwards, a more thorough-going search may have been made, which, with the addition of a few later anecdotes, resulted in SSC (A). Here, however, we are plunging too deeply into the realm of conjecture. What seems fairly clear is that the two collections were formed quite independently of one another.

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HAN PERFORATED INCENSE BURNER WITH COVER.
HEIGHT 3¾-IN

HAN FLASK. HEIGHT 8½-IN.

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TWO ART OBJECTS

FROM THE

COLLECTION OF R. D. ABRAHAM, ESQ.

A beautiful specimen of the Han potter's art is shown in the reproduction.

The ware is hard, light and the clay white but slightly dulled by a reddish tone which is due to long burial in red soil. The censer is in the shape of a small Chinese drum and is supported by a tripod, the design is a wreath of peonies and leaves powerfully incised and framed in by two rows of small knobs in low relief.

Alternate peonies are glazed (light 'leaf green') which goes to enhance the effect of the decoration but now the glaze has practically all flaked away only leaving a silvery shimmer. The perforations allowed the sweet fragrance of the burning incense to be wafted on the air.

The flask is of reddish brown ware washed by a deep 'leaf green' glaze which through age has become irridescent and the surface is covered by a 'gold and silver lustre' so that on casually observing it one imagines that it is made of metal.

It is noteworthy that the ware is hard and comparatively light which is unusual in wares of this type.

The curved design is worked on the body of the piece and is seen through the glaze simple and suitable for such an article.

The rim is deeply grooved giving the piece an impression of strength and utility, the flask is capped by a somewhat massive stopper and this is necessary as the mouth is large enabling the 'bottle' to be filled and emptied with ease.

Two perforations are found in the upper projections for the purpose of passing through a string allowing the flask to be attached to a belt. The flask swells out at the lower end but narrows as it reaches the top. This piece is a model of an ancient warrior's water bottle and in modelling and design is totally different from a pilgrim's flask. It has the appearance of being a useful article and one that can be relied on in times of emergency.

Yet withal one can perceive the Han modeller's genius.

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NOTES AND QUERIES

By L. C. Arlington

Reply to Prof. Giles

On page 286 of Vol. III of the *New China Review*, Dr Giles states the 史記 backs him up in setting down 阿衡 as the personal name of 伊尹. (The Biog. Dict. number is 913, not 313). have not the *Mémoires Historiques*, so cannot refer to it.* However this may be, I may state that 阿衡 means a Prime Minister, or a General Regulator—of Affairs of State, somewhat similar to 百揆. *Cf.* Giles Dict. No. 6487 納于百揆. This was the term used by the Emperor Yao when he appointed Shun to be his Prime Minister. During the Chous it was changed to 冢宰, one who 燮理陰陽 "harmonises the *Yin* and the *Yang*." The 通志氏族略 states that I Yin was the 阿衡 of the T'ang dynasty—i.e., Prime Minister: 伊尹爲湯阿衡, and that his sons and grandsons because of this (rank) adopted 衡 as their family name: 子孫因以爲氏.

The *T'zŭ Yüan* states that: 阿衡商官名伊尹爲之阿倚也衡平也湯倚伊尹而取平故以爲官名.

That Dr. Giles had doubts himself is clear under No. 1 in his Chinese-English Dictionary, where he states that *O Hêng* is the "name or *title* of I Yin."

The 龍文鞭影 gives the following particulars: (伊尹耕莘
註伊尹名摯生於空桑居於伊水故氏曰伊尹其字
也第考太甲篇自稱尹躬恐無君前稱字之理尹耕
於有莘之野而樂堯舜之道湯聞其賢三往聘之因
就湯而伐夏救民焉.

---

* On page 286 of this *Review* the reference to the *Mémoires Historiques* should be page 178 instead of page 378. [Editor].

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Giles Dict. No. 7015 量移, has lost its original meaning of to "partly pardon," etc., and refers to the transfer of an official—generally in a good sense. The ancient meaning—now obsolete—originated with the T'ang Emperor K'ai Yüan, and in the 27th year of his reign (A.D. 740). That is, he degraded and exiled (左降) cashiered officials to some far distant post, and after three years partly pardoned and re-transferred (量移) them to a post near the capital. Po Chü-i, one of China's greatest poets, wrote a distich bringing out the meaning of 左降 and 量移 in this sense, as follows:

一旦失恩先左降, 三年牓例未量移

"Suddenly to fall from grace, degraded and banished to a far distant post;

Although three years have passed, according to law, not yet recalled."

* * *

With reference to Fan Chung Yen (Biog. Dict. No. 535), according to the 神道碑 by 歐陽修 it is stated that his correct name was Chu Yüeh 朱說. When his father died his mother married a man named Fan; and after Chu Yüeh took his *chin shih* degree, he altered his name to Fan; i.e., he took the name of his step-father. The date he changed his name is given as the 8th year of Hsiang Fu (A.D. 1016).

* * *

The Anniversaries of the death of Emperors or their Consorts, Giles Dict. No. 924 忌日, was introduced by the T'ang Emperor 大和 and in the 7th year of his reign (A.D. 834) V. 隨園隨筆.

* * *

高足 No. 11,840, originally had nothing to do with the "best pupil," but referred to the best or most famous horse. Yen Shih Ku 顏師古, in his 高租本紀, states that Han Kao Tsu (2nd cent. B.C.) always rode the finest horses. The first best was called 高足 "high-stepper"; the next best was called 中足 and the 3rd best 下足.

The term "best pupil" according to the 世說新語 originated with Chêng K'ang Ch'êng (Biog. Dict. No. 274), who was Ma Jung's most famous pupil and was, in consequence thereof, called 高足弟子.

* * *

There is an uncanny meaning attached to the character I 漪, Giles Dict. No. 5365, not mentioned in any of the dictionaries.

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This was the name given to Tsai I (載漪) Prince Tuan of Boxer fame, by the Emperor Hsien Fêng because the former was born during the 100 days of mourning for the Emperor Tao Kuang.

Hsien Fêng specially selected this character because it had the radical for "dog" in it to imply thereby that he was nothing but a "brute beast." He might have selected the character 猗 Giles Dict. No. 5366, but he had to retain the character for "water" as all the members of the Imperial Clansmen of the 載 Branch must have the radical for "water" affixed to their names. These are as under : 載淳 (The Emperor T'ungchih) ; 載活 (The Emperor Kuanghsü) ; 載漪 (Prince Tuan) ; 載灃 (Prince Ch'un) ; 載瀾 (Duke Lan) and the *beilêhs* 載洵, 載濤, 載濎, 載澂, 載濂, 載瀅, 載澍. In the same way, all the Imperial Clansmen surnamed 溥, have the radical for "man" in their names, e.g., 溥儀, 溥倫, 溥侗, 溥偉, 溥儁.

* * *

No. 13,736 蝝 "the pupae of a large kind of ant," is to be correct in Chinese 復陶 (to re-create). *Cf.* 陶鈞萬品 "to bring into order the various things in the Universe"—of Nature. According to the 爾雅釋蟲 ; 蝝, 蝮, and 蛹 are all the pupae of a large ant or locust.

* * *

The original form of 悖 No. 4595 is 妦 No. 4594 ; therefore, the various dialect readings should be under 妦. There is not the slightest difference in the meanings, nor in the rhyme, which is 迥 and not 梗.

* * *

No 2715 僎 is read *tsun*[1] when referring to the "high official guests invited to a village feast ;" but *chuan*[4] when referring to the "preparations" or "provisions" thereof.

* * *

No. 6953 蠃, when read *lo*[3] also means the itch or "ring worm." What, however, makes this character interesting, is that it forms part of the name of Fan Li (B. Dict. No. 540). One of the reasons he changed his name is because he did not like to be stigmatized as "a wood-boring insect." He was said to be the only man in China with the character 蠃 in his name. There was another reason for his adopting the name of 陶朱, viz., because it corresponded with the sound 逃誅 meaning to "escape or flee from punishment or decapitation"—from the clutches of Kou Chien the king of Yüeh. His retirement from the service of the state and pilgrimage to the South is immortalized in the lines : 乘舟遊五湖.

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Although Dr. Giles under Nos. 12,374 and 13,613 mentions the 1st and 3rd years of "field cultivation," he does not give the 2nd year, viz., 新田.

* * *

No. 6529 (衰) was originally so written, but owing to its resemblance to 哀 "sorrow," the Emperor altered it to 衰 No. 6532, and therefore the entries should be under 衰 instead of 衰. 衰 is the correct form, and is so written by all Chinese. Although the Emperors wore robes embroidered with dragons both ascending and descending, the higher officials only wore robes embroidered with dragons *descending*.

* * *

No. 4296 宵行 (*hang* not hsing) is really a glow-worm which is said to emit light from the throat. Hence, the allusion "travelling by night."

* * *

It is worthy of note that 㬎 No. 123 is used with 徼, No. 83, and 澆 No. 1330 is used for 㬎 in the *Tso Chuan*.

* * *

That 滕六 No. 10,887 is also supposed to be (erroneously) the "god of a fair wind" may be seen from the following: 借滕六王之順風. The term 滕六 is taken from the poetical lines 雪花飛六出. "The snow-flakes have six points"—referring to winter snow. The origin of the term according to the 幽怪錄 is as follows: The magistrate of Hêngchow in Hunan named Hsiao Chih-chung (蕭志忠) who was a famous hunter had planned to go on a hunting excursion the following day. This becoming known to the wild beasts of the mountains, they became greatly alarmed and held a meeting to consider means for mutual protection. A wood-cutter, who was resting on the mountain slope, overheard the beasts beseeching the god of the Nine Regions in Hades to devise plans for their protection. The god replied that "personally he could do nothing; but if it should come on to snow, or blow a gale, the hunter would be prevented from going shooting." To this laconic and ambiguous reply the animals naturally wished to know how such a desired change in the elements could be brought about. The god replied that if they "prayed to the god of snow" (滕六) or to the "god of wind" (巽二), their wishes would be fulfilled. It is probably owing to this legend that the gods of snow and wind have become confused as given in the passage at the head of this note.

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Editor's Note

The Editor has much pleasure at the end of another volume in offering his very hearty thanks to all those contributors who have helped to make the *Review* a success during another year. It would, perhaps, be invidious to name any of them. Our veteran sinologists have generously given most valuable aid, while some new and unknown writers, the sinologists of the future, have also sent welcome contributions. To all alike the Editor feels deeply thankful, and our readers ought to feel the same.

It is hoped to make the fourth volume still more valuable by the inclusion of more papers on numismatics, archæology and art—features that have been lacking so far. Contributions on these or other suitable subjects will be gratefully received.

The Editor once more appeals to subscribers to increase their number by making the *Review* more widely known. An article in the last issue of the *Chinese Recorder* shows how little the *Review* is read among missionaries—a deplorable and surprising fact. To appeal to any public spirit for the support of a journal which may be regarded as a credit to Shanghai, but which does not provide light reading or comic pictures, seems vain; but there should be a sufficiently large public in China interested in Chinese subjects to make such a journal permanent.

* * *

An apology is due to subscribers for the delay in publishing each issue; the Editor is not to be blamed, and it is hoped there may be some improvement in this respect in the coming year.

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RECENT LITERATURE

Fishing from the Earliest Times, by William Radcliffe (John Murray, London, 1921, 28/–).

The markets of Shanghai show an astonishing variety and abundance of fishes, but we do not know that there is much fishing for sport by foreigners. The book before us, however, is not a technical work, of interest only to fishermen, nor is it a mere collection of big-fish stories. But it is good reading, both serious and amusing, to all who love a good book. The author is a fisherman, a pisciculturist, and withal a scholar, and he has collected, as it would appear, everything on the subject from all literature; we are supplied with the most minute, extraordinary, interesting and valuable information about methods, influence, superstitions, symbolism, folk-lore, etc., connected with fishing in all countries and in all ages.

It is impossible to quote much or notice much in such bewildering wealth, and we must confine our remarks to the chapter on China. But if one wishes to know the connection between mullets and cholera *morbus*, or how the extinction of small fish helped to the downfall of Greece, or interesting details about Tobit, or why oysters have so little place in Homer, though oyster-shells are abundant in the ruins of Troy, or a thousand other varied matters, let him get the book and enjoy it.

When the author comes to the chapter on China he steps outside a familiar world, and in spite of valuable help from Prof. Giles and Dr. Lionel Giles, he must have found this the least pleasing part of his work, and perhaps that is why the chapter is last in the book and shows, we think, some signs of his being tired. His authorities seem to have been chiefly Werner's *Sociology* and Dabry de Thiersant's *La Pisciculture et la Pêche en Chine*, while many sources which might have been known from Père Courtois' articles in the *Encyclopædia Sinica* are not referred to.

The fact is, Chinese ichthyology has been very little studied. Even to-day the question is still under dispute whether trout exist

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here or not. But this scarcity of knowledge does not prevent our interest in all historical references to fishing throughout Chinese literature, and, so far as one dependent on translations could do so, the author seems to have collected all such references, including a good deal of very curious information. He is disappointed that the Honan bones seem to reveal nothing on his subject, forgetting that the inscriptions have so far only been partially deciphered. His reason for the apparent lack is the queer one that the district was so dry. At the present moment, alas! Honan does not complain of drought, and the China of those days was little more than the Yellow-river banks.

He speaks of fishing belonging to the State, and licences to fish being obligatory. This, as we know, only applies to fishing on a large scale. Amateur fishermen are entirely free from all restrictions. There is a peculiar statement about cormorant-fishing, a statement made by a Mr. Yen, a Chinese; it is that cormorant-fishing "in our country was confined to one family, the Liu." The remark needs some expansion since the practice is common in various provinces from south to north. It is, perhaps, a little surprising that we find no reference to the effect of Buddhist doctrines in the matter of killing fish; but the whole volume is not only full, but overflowing with information written in the brightest manner, so that it seems almost absurd as well as ungrateful to suggest that anything is lacking.

We can heartily recommend the book as more interesting and readable than a score of novels.

Historical Eclipses (Halley Lecture)—John Knight Fotheringham, M.A., D. LITT., Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1921. 2/6 net.

Dr. Fotheringham combines the qualifications of an astronomer with those of an antiquary and in this very interesting pamphlet has studied the various eclipses recorded in the classical writings and records of antiquity down to the second century before Christ. His ulterior object is to obtain evidence as to the magnitude of the secular acceleration of the moon (retardation of the earth's rotation also) which is principally due to the tidal friction. It is quite interesting to think that the loss of energy in the Huangpu (which appears during dry weather by the ebb stream being slower than the flood) is checking the earth's motion and causing the moon to recede. The folk who build jetties and so hinder the free flow of the river are unwarrantably disturbing the moon!

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In the course of the paper several Chinese records are referred to. The famous reference in the Shu Ching to the Hsi and Ho clans who preferred riotous living to astronomy draws the remark "My opinion is that the evidence does not permit us to identify the eclipse." It is not even certain that the record even refers to an eclipse, in spite of tradition and the commentators. Is it not possible that an accumulated error in the calendar was the real offence? Dr. Fotheringham suggests that politics had a good deal more to do with the affair than science.

The Shih Ching eclipse of B.C. 776 is mentioned as the first verifiable one in Chinese chronology. Incidentally it appears to be the first verifiable one at all. Shortly afterwards, however, the Annals of Lu commence to record a whole series of which all except four are confirmed. As to the four, they "never happened."

The other eclipses referred to are those of Greek and Mesopotamian history and do not concern China, except in so far as the lunar eclipses might also occur in Chinese records.

One can only regret that the historians of antiquity were not more lavish in their records of the only datemarks which modern science is able to re-establish. Incidentally one's regrets are strengthened by the consideration that really definite data as to a very early eclipse would enable the astronomer to compute how soon we may expect this terrestrial ball to stop spinning, an event which cannot but be of great interest even if it is many millions of years hence.

HERBERT CHATLEY.

Les Grottes de Touen-houang (*Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale*). Tome quatrième. Paris, Geuthner, 1921, fr.75.

This fourth volume concludes the splendid collection of 256 phototypes of wall-paintings, etc., from the Thousand Buddha Cave Temples at Tun-huang. Everyone knows how M. Pelliot in 1908 cleverly secured sculptures, paintings and manuscripts, all some eight centuries old, enough to fill eighty cases. Even in piping and scribbling times of peace it takes a long time for the public to get the results of a scientific expedition, and we cannot complain that the records of the Mission Pelliot are only now being published.

We can do no more now than announce the completion of this portion; we shall return to the work when the explanatory text is issued. Meanwhile all students of Buddhism or archæology should hasten to buy.

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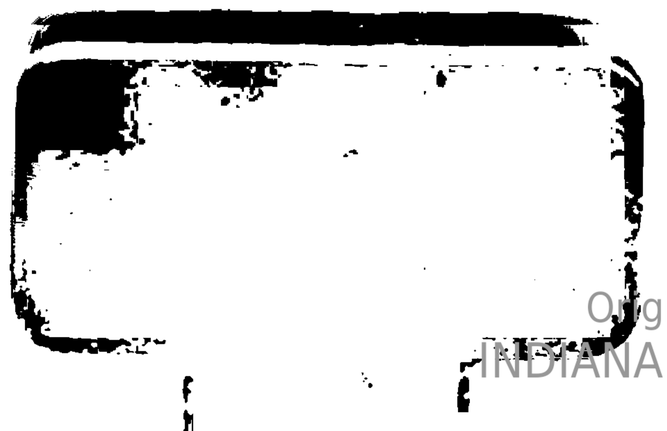

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